

One Dollar

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Enclosure 2,

Tab A

# The Revolt in Hungary

*A Documentary Chronology of Events*

BASED EXCLUSIVELY ON INTERNAL BROADCASTS BY  
CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL RADIOS

**OCTOBER 23, 1956 · NOVEMBER 4, 1956**

400395

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FREE EUROPE COMMITTEE · 2 PARK AVENUE · NEW YORK CITY 17

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## *Preface*

THIS document records the story of the Hungarian people's revolt as broadcast day-to-day, hour-by-hour. The record begins with the Radio Budapest account of student demonstrations on October 23, 1956, continues through the Soviet military intervention on November 4, 1956, and includes significant excerpts from broadcasts through November 9, 1956. The source materials for these transcriptions are the broadcasts of all the central and provincial radio stations in Hungary, official and unofficial. These broadcasts were monitored, translated from the Hungarian, and edited to give a running account of the most important political, economic and military events of the revolt. Passages have been selected only on the basis of their significance in the sequence of developments; they have been given as completely and in as great length as possible, with a particular eye for materials which were not published elsewhere.

The italicized daily summaries are based on press, radio and eyewitness accounts where confirmation or corroboration were possible. The photographs were obtained from news services and private individuals.

The record speaks for itself and requires little commentary. Footnotes have been provided as necessary to explain the background of people and places.

**A XI. KERÜLETI MUNKAHÁZI KÖZÖSSÉGI  
HATÁROZATAI:**

**Resolutions Passed by  
the Workers' Councils of  
the 11th District of  
Budapest**

The labor representatives of the workers of the plants of the 11th District have unanimously decided that in the interest of the Socialist construction of Hungary and of the Hungarian people's future, they are willing to resume work under the following conditions:

1. We wish to emphasize that the revolutionary working class considers the factories and the land the property of the working people.

2. The Workers' Parliament recognizes the Kadar government as a negotiating party, provided that the government, to assure its own legality, will reorganize itself to conform with the will of the people.

3. The people have put their faith in the workers' councils to make certain that the will of the people continues to be carried out. We demand that the authority of the workers' councils be expanded and reaffirmed by the government in the economic, cultural and social fields.

4. In the interest of preserving order and re-establishing peace, we demand that a date be set for free elections in which only those parties may participate that recognize and have always recognized the Socialist order, based on the principle that means of production belong to society.

5. We demand the immediate freeing of the members of the Imre Nagy government which was elected by the revolution, as well as the release of the freedom fighters.

6. We demand that a cease-fire be ordered immediately, as well as the prompt withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest, since Hungarian authorities can assure order through the labor force. And we demand that as soon as workers have resumed work, the Hungarian government open negotiations for the gradual and orderly withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the country, and keep the public informed on the progress of these negotiations.

7. The police force must be organized from the honest workers of the plants and from the Army units loyal to the people.

8. It is requested that the above points be made public by the government on the radio and through the press.

*Conclusion:* We shall immediately begin with reconstruction, work toward supplying the people with food and re-establish transport facilities, but other tasks will be undertaken only after recognition of our demands and after they are carried out.

WORKERS' COUNCILS OF THE 11TH DISTRICT

Budapest, November 12, 1956

# The Hungarian Revolt

**Tuesday, October 23, 1956**

*Student demonstrations in Budapest take place in front of the statue of General Bem and the Polish Embassy. Students demand reforms, democratization, the return of Imre Nagy.*

*Police try to disperse the crowd when students attempt to be heard over Budapest radio. Tear gas is used and then students are arrested. The crowd attempts to free the students and the police open fire. The demonstration turns into a riot and street fighting breaks out.*

*Martial law is declared, a call for Russian troops issued, and, during the night, Soviet tanks and jets are reported used against the demonstrators.*

## **—Morning**

### **Radio Budapest, Home Service**

**0900 hrs.<sup>1</sup>** "As reported yesterday, general meetings of students have been held in several Budapest universities. At these meetings it was decided that the youth of Budapest will hold a silent demonstration of sympathy in front of the Embassy of the Polish People's Republic. It is the aim of the silent demonstration to express the deep sympathy and solidarity of youth with the events in Poland.<sup>2</sup>

"Youth has also approved a resolution to denounce and suppress any kind of extreme, provocative and anarchistic demonstrations. They avow that the demonstration of sympathy will take place in the spirit of Socialist democracy

and promise to maintain order and discipline. University youth will meet in front of the Writers' Union Building at 1330 hrs. this afternoon."

**1100** "The Hungarian Writers' Union wishes to express its great appreciation of the events in Poland. . . . Hungarian writers, who in the course of the past years constantly fought for democratization and against Rakosi's policy, believe the chief tasks of the Hungarian public to be, firstly, to assure further advance on the path of Socialist democracy, secondly, to avoid and beat off all possible provocations which, making use of the enthusiasm created by the Polish events in Hungarian workers and students, might disturb our happiness and political endeavors."

**1153** "A communique from the Ministry of the Interior:

"In order to assure public order, the Minister of the Interior is not permitting any public meetings and demonstrations until further notice. [Signed] Laszlo Piros, Minister of the Interior." [The announcement was repeated at 1215.]

<sup>1</sup> All times—both broadcast times and hours mentioned in broadcasts—Greenwich Mean Time [GMT]; this is one hour earlier than Budapest time.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the extensive Polish liberalization and in particular to the October 19-21 meeting of the Polish Party's Central Committee, which elected "national Communist" Wladyslaw Gomulka Party leader and defied threats of Soviet force.

# Tuesday, October 23, 1956—Afternoon

## Radio Budapest, Home Service

1323 "LASZLO Piros, Minister of the Interior, has withdrawn the ban imposed on public meetings and demonstrations.

"The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' [Communist] Party, Comrade Erno Gero, will speak tonight at 1900 hrs." [This announcement is repeated four times in the ensuing half hour.]

1400 "On October 23, 1956, at 1300 hrs., the Central Committee of the DISZ<sup>3</sup> opened its sixth meeting. The Central Committee approved the demonstration of Budapest youth in sympathy with the Polish People's Republic. It then decided to participate in the demonstration, and the meeting was therefore interrupted. . . . The Committee requested university students and other youth participating in the demonstrations to prevent any attempts at provocation. . . ."

## Radio Budapest, in French to Europe

1300 "Last night the Petofi Club<sup>4</sup> of Budapest held a meeting and adopted the following resolution:

"1. In view of the present situation in Hungary, we propose that a session of the . . . Party's Central Committee be convened as soon as possible. Comrade Imre Nagy<sup>5</sup> should take part in the preparatory work of this session.

"2. We consider it necessary that the Party and the government disclose in all sincerity the economic situation in the country, revise the Second Five Year Plan [1956-1960]. . . .

"3. The Central Committee [of the Party] and the government should adopt every method possible to insure the development of Socialist democracy. . . .

"4. We propose . . . that Comrade Imre Nagy and other comrades who fought for Socialist democracy and for Leninist principles should occupy a worthy place in the direction of the Party and the government.

"5. We propose the expulsion of Matyas Rakosi<sup>6</sup> from the Party Central Committee and his recall from the National Assembly and the Presidium. It is necessary that the CC . . . bring to a halt present attempts at Stalinist and Rakosi-like restoration.

<sup>3</sup> The Union of Working Youth, the Communist-dominated youth organization.

<sup>4</sup> A recently-organized club of intellectuals which has acted as a major forum of the intellectual ferment and liberalization. It is named after the great 19th Century poet of the struggle for Hungarian independence.

<sup>5</sup> Former Premier (July 1953-March 1955), expelled from Party in 1955, readmitted October 1956. Symbol of the post-Stalin New Course and considered a "national Communist."

"6. We propose that Mihaly Farkas<sup>7</sup> case be tried in public in accordance with Socialist legality.

"7. We propose that the Central Committee revise certain resolutions recently passed . . . concerning literature and the Petofi Club. . . .

"8. Let even the most delicate questions be made public: the balance sheets of our foreign trade agreements and the plans concerning the utilization of Hungarian uranium.<sup>8</sup>

"9. With a view to consolidating Hungarian-Soviet friendship, let us establish even closer relations with the Party, State and people of the Soviet Union on the basis of the Leninist principles of complete equality.

"10. We demand that the Central Committee of the DISZ take a stand, at their October 23 meeting, on the points of this resolution and adopt a decision on the democratization of the Hungarian youth movement.

"The above resolution was published in all newspapers this morning."

## Radio Budapest, in Hungarian to Europe

1730 "National flags, young people with rosettes of the national colors singing the Kossuth<sup>9</sup> song, the Marseillaise and the Internationale—this is how we can describe in colors and in the titles of songs how Budapest today is bathed in the October sunshine and celebrates a new Ides of March.

"This afternoon a vast youth demonstration took place in our capital. . . . Although at noon today the Ministry of the Interior banned all demonstrations, the Politburo of the Hungarian Workers' [Communist] Party changed the decision. Scholars, students of technological faculties, students of philosophy, law, economics, together with students from other university branches, took part in the march led by their professors and leaders of the university Party organizations.

"At first there were only thousands but they were joined by young workers, passersby, soldiers, old people, secondary-school students and motorists. The vast crowd grew to tens of thousands. The streets resounded with these slogans: 'People of Kossuth, March Forward Hand in Hand,' 'We Want a New Leadership—We Trust Imre

<sup>6</sup> First Secretary of the Hungarian Party until July 1956; long-time symbol of Stalinist rule.

<sup>7</sup> Former Defense Minister, dismissed from the Party in July 1956 and later arrested for violations of "Socialist legality," i.e., for use of Stalinist methods.

<sup>8</sup> Both these points are references to Soviet economic exploitation of Hungary.

<sup>9</sup> Louis Kossuth, Nineteenth Century Hungarian leader, hero of the March 15, 1848 revolution against Austria. See later demand for national holiday to mark the day.

Nagy,' 'Long Live the People's Army,' and so forth. The shouts reverberate, the national colors flutter in the air,

windows are open. The streets of Budapest are filled with a new wind of greater freedom. . . ."

## Tuesday, October 23, 1956 – Night

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1830 "AT TODAY'S Politburo session . . . it was decided that the next meeting of the Central Committee will be called for October 31. The agenda will be: 1. the political situation and the tasks of the Party—speaker, Erno Gero; 2. questions concerning organizational problems."

1900 First Party Secretary Erno Gero addresses nation. He says, in part: "Dear Comrades! Dear Friends! Working people of Hungary! . . . It is our resolute and unalterable intention to develop, widen and deepen democracy in our country. . . . But of course we want a Socialist democracy and not a bourgeois democracy. Following our Party and our conviction, our working class and our people are jealously guarding the achievements of our People's Democracy and will not allow anyone to touch them. We shall defend these achievements from whatever quarters they may be threatened. The main purpose of the enemies of our people today is to undermine the power of the working class . . . to shake the people's faith in their Party . . . to try to loosen the close and friendly ties between our country . . . and the other countries building Socialism, particularly between our country and the Socialist Soviet Union. They try to loosen the ties between our Party and the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, the Party of the Twentieth CPSU Congress.<sup>10</sup>

"They heap slanders on the Soviet Union; they assert that our trade relations with the Soviet Union are one-sided and that our independence allegedly has to be defended not against the imperialists but against the Soviet Union. All this is a barefaced lie, hostile slander without a grain of truth. The truth is that the Soviet Union not only liberated our country from the yoke of Horthy fascism and German imperialism, but that after the war, when our country lay prostrate, the Soviet Union also stood by us and concluded agreements with us on the basis of full equality, and that it still continues this policy.

"There are those who intend to create a conflict between proletarian internationalism and Hungarian patriotism. We Communists are Hungarian patriots . . . we also categorically make it plain that we are not nationalists. . . . We therefore condemn those who strive to spread the poison of chauvinism among our youth and who have taken advantage of the democratic freedom assured to working people by our State to carry out a demonstration of a nationalistic character. . . . We are patriots but at the same time we are also proletarian internationalists."

<sup>10</sup> February 1956. It marked the official beginning of the denigration of Stalin and encouraged liberalization.

1923 A bulletin stated that the previous announcement of the Central Committee meeting was "erroneous" and that the CC would meet "in a few days."

2122 "Dear listeners, you now hear a special announcement: the Politburo . . . called on the Central Committee to meet immediately in order to discuss the present situation and the tasks to be carried out."

2123 "This afternoon the youth of Budapest marched up to Parliament. In the evening Comrade Imre Nagy addressed the youth. Comrade Imre Nagy is now holding discussions with youth representatives."

### Radio Budapest, in French to Europe

2300 "This morning, students of all the universities and high schools in Budapest staged a demonstration under the leadership of the Petofi Club of the DISZ, which decided . . . to take responsibility for their [the students'] action. . . . A delegate of the Petofi Military Academy also spoke, expressing the sympathy of the Academy students with the following demands:

"A Socialist Hungary, truly independent; March 15 an official holiday; Imre Nagy reinstated in his former office; the State established on a new economic basis; new leaders for the Party and government; those responsible for mistakes held accountable at a public trial. . . .

"At the Polytechnic University, Mihaly Fekete, Deputy Minister of the Interior, announced to the students that the ban on the march had been lifted. He emphasized that the employees and Communists of the Ministry had rallied to the side of honest Hungarians in the interests of a change. . . . Shortly before 1400 hrs. the youth of the universities gathered in front of the Petofi statue in Pest, singing the Kossuth hymn. . . . The demonstrators, including well-known professors, carried Hungarian and Polish flags. At 1400 hrs. Imre Sinkovits, the actor, recited Petofi's poem, 'Rise, Hungarian!' He then read the demands of the students. Finally, the demonstration marched toward Buda, where it was joined by students of the Polytechnic University, and all gathered before the statue of General Bem<sup>11</sup>. . . . Nearly 800 officers of the Hungarian People's Army joined the youth and marched in a group. . . . Members of the Petofi Club, with the aid of loudspeakers, thanked those present for their support. . . . Students bearing Hungarian and Polish flags mounted to the foot of the statue and university delegates placed

<sup>11</sup> Polish patriot and leader who also fought for Hungarian independence in the 19th Century.

wreaths there. Fifty thousand people sang the National Anthem.

"Peter Veres, Chairman of the Hungarian Writers' Union, then read the seven-point resolution of the presidium of the Writers' Union, and its demands. It runs as follows:

"We have arrived at a historic turning point. In this revolutionary situation we shall not be able to acquit ourselves well unless all the Hungarian working people rally as a disciplined group. The leaders of the Party and State have so far failed to present a workable program. The responsibility for this lies with those who, instead of expanding Socialist democracy, have obstinately organized themselves and are still organizing in an effort to restore the terrorist regime of Stalin and Rakosi. We Hungarian writers have formulated in seven points the demands of the Hungarian nation.

"1. We demand an independent national policy based on the principles of Socialism. Our relations with all countries, particularly with the USSR and the People's Democracies, should be based on the principle of equality. We demand that the conventions and economic agreements made between States be reviewed in the spirit of equality of rights for the nations involved.

"2. We demand an end to the [present] policy on national minorities. . . .

"3. We demand a clear disclosure of the country's economic situation. . . .

"4. Factories should be directed by workers and specialists. The present wage system should be reformed, as should working norms and the disgraceful condition of social benefits, and so forth. Trade unions should truly represent the interests of the Hungarian working class.

"5. Our present agricultural policy should be established on new foundations, and peasants should be assured the right of free self-determination. . . .

"6. . . . The Rakosi clique, seeking restoration, must be removed from our political life. Imre Nagy, the pure and courageous Communist who enjoys the confidence of the Hungarian people and all those who in the past years have fought systematically for Socialist democracy, should be given a suitable post. At the same time, a resolute stand must be taken against all counterrevolutionary attempts and aspirations.

"7. The development of the situation demands that the Patriotic People's Front<sup>12</sup> should assume political representation of the working classes of Hungarian society. Our electoral system should correspond to the demands of Socialist democracy. The people should elect, by secret ballot, their representatives to parliament and to all the autonomous organs of our administration.

"We believe that we are expressing the thoughts of the nation", says the declaration in conclusion."

<sup>12</sup> The overall mass organization, led by Communists and fellow-travelers, but predominantly made up of non-Communists.



View of the Hungarian capital with the Lánchíd, the Kossuth Bridge, and in the background the Margit Bridge.

*Hungary* (Budapest), January 1956

# Wednesday, October 24, 1956

*Additional Soviet military units enter Budapest at the request of the Hungarian government. Fighting breaks out between Soviet troops and the Hungarian people.*

*Changes in the Party Central Committee and in the government are announced. Imre Nagy replaces Andras Hegedus as Premier, but Erno Gero remains First Party Secretary.*

*Nagy appeals to the people to stop fighting. Surrender deadlines are announced as fighting continues. The deadlines are moved forward several times, and finally altogether abandoned. Rebels capture factories in Budapest. Fighting reported in Debrecen, Szolnok and Szeged. Government troops recapture the Ganz Machine Works and the Csepel Iron Works.*

## —Morning

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

0330 "DEAR LISTENERS, we wish you good morning! Please listen to our morning broadcast. Dear listeners, we read you an announcement:

"Fascist, reactionary elements have launched an armed attack against our public buildings and have attacked our armed forces. For the sake of restoring order and until further measures are taken, all gatherings, meetings and demonstrations are banned. The armed forces have received instructions to apply the full strength of the law against those who break this order. Signed: the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic." [The announcement is repeated at 0400, 0430 and 0530.]

0450 "Here is an announcement. The Ministry of the Interior . . . calls on the inhabitants of Budapest not to go into the streets before 0800 [GMT] unless their business is of absolute urgency, in view of the fact that the mopping up of looting counterrevolutionary groups is still in progress."

0713 "An important announcement follows. At its meeting on October 24, 1956, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party elected as members: Comrades Ferenc Donath, Geza Losonczy, Gyorgy Lukacs, Ferenc Munnich, Imre Nagy. Members of the new Politburo are: Antal Apro, Sandor Gaspar, Erno Gero, Andras Hegedus, Janos Kadar, Gyula Kallai, Karoly Kiss, Jozsef Kobol, Gyorgy Marosan, Imre Nagy, Zoltan Szanto. Alternate Politburo members: Comrades Geza Losonczy, Sandor Ronai. The Central Committee reaffirmed and strengthened the position of Comrade Erno Gero as First Party Secretary. Secretaries of the Central Committee are Comrades Ferenc Donath, Janos Kadar, Gyula Kallai. The Central Committee moved that the Presidium of the People's Republic elect Comrade Imre Nagy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Comrade Andras Hegedus<sup>1</sup> First Deputy Chairman. The Central Committee instructed

the Politburo to draft a resolution for the solution of the problems confronting the Party and the country.

"Attention! attention! We repeat the announcement. Imre Nagy has become the new Premier and Andras Hegedus his First Deputy."

0800 "Attention! Attention! The dastardly armed attacks of counterrevolutionary gangs during the night have created an extremely serious situation. The bandits have penetrated into factories and public buildings and have murdered many civilians, members of the national defense forces, and fighters of the State security organs. The government was unprepared for these bloody dastardly attacks and therefore applied for help, in accordance with the terms of the Warsaw Treaty, to the Soviet formations stationed in Hungary. The Soviet formations, in compliance with the government's request, are taking part in the restoration of order." The announcement goes on to appeal for public calm and order, and support for the "Hungarian and Soviet troops maintaining order."

0820 Minister of Interior orders curfew until 1300.

1110 Imre Nagy addresses the nation. He says, in part:

"People of Budapest, I inform you that all those who, in the interest of avoiding further bloodshed, lay down their arms and cease fighting by 1300 hrs. [GMT] today will be exempted from prosecution. At the same time, I state that, using all the means at our disposal, we will realize as soon as possible the systematic democratization of our country in every field of Party, State, political and economic life. Heed our appeal, stop fighting and secure the restoration of calm and order in the interest of the future of our people and our country."

Nagy goes on to promise the development of "Socialism" in a manner "corresponding to our own national characteristics," and the "radical improvement of the workers' living conditions." He excoriates "hostile elements" who "joined the ranks of peacefully-demonstrating Hungarian youth," and "turned against the People's Democracy, against the power of the people." He reiterates the amnesty offer, the call for order, asks workers to "defend the

<sup>1</sup> Had succeeded Nagy as Premier (or "Chairman of the Council of Ministers") in April 1955.



Andras Hegedus

Associated Press

factories and the machines," and says, "Our future is at stake. The great road of progress of our national existence lies before us. . . . Line up behind the Party, line up behind the government!" The speech is followed by the National Anthem.

1120 Reports that a "five-man negotiating committee of the armed men in Baross Square" went to Nagy and told him they were willing to lay down their arms if the amnesty was absolute. "Their proposal was accepted."

1122 Statement by Zoltan Tildy<sup>2</sup> appealing for the restoration of order.

Similar appeal by MEFESZ<sup>3</sup> committee: "Let us line up behind Comrade Imre Nagy and the Central Committee in a spirit of revived Leninism."

1130 "National independence, friendship with the Soviets on the basis of mutual respect and complete equality yesterday afternoon university youth began its demonstration with these correct ideas. . . . What has happened to these ideas in a single night? . . . What have the misled youths, and the counterrevolutionary bandits hiding in

<sup>2</sup> President of Hungary 1946-1948, President of Smallholders' Party until its dissolution in 1948.

<sup>3</sup> United Association of Hungarian University and Academy Students, revived on October 22 by students who seceded from the official Communist youth organization (DISZ).

<sup>1</sup> Hungarian national colors.

their ranks, done with the beautiful patriotic thoughts? Shooting in the streets accompanied by our National Anthem! The plundering of the slaughterhouse accompanied by the waving of red, white and green<sup>1</sup> banners! . . . Robbing, plundering, the shedding of workers' blood under the cover of the sacred ideas of national independence and sovereignty. These are no patriots! They are black scoundrels or misled adolescents. The soldiers and workers who come to disarm them are the true patriots. We greet them and the Soviet soldiers rushing to help them. Let the population of our capital help them everywhere!"

1146 Statements from "students of the medical and legal faculties of Pecs University and students of the Pedagogic High School," condemning "every counterrevolutionary provocation" and backing Nagy in further liberalization. Similar statements from the National Council of Hungarian Women and the National Peace Council.



Erno Gero

Wide World

# Wednesday, October 24, 1956—Afternoon

## Radio Budapest, Home Service

1223 "DEAR LISTENERS, a large armed group has laid down its weapons at the corner of Szondi and Vorosmarty Streets."

Repeats amnesty offer, for all who surrender, including "members of the armed forces."

"Several listeners . . . have turned to us for explanation of the conditions and the purpose of the arrival of Soviet troops in Budapest. . . . These Soviet units are stationed in Hungary in accordance with the Warsaw Pact. On Tuesday, the enemies of our people turned the demonstration of university youth into an organized counterrevolutionary provocation, and with their armed attacks endangered order and the life of the people throughout the country. The Hungarian government, conscious of its responsibilities, in order to restore order and security, asked that Soviet troops help to control the murderous attacks of counterrevolutionary bands. These Soviet soldiers are risking their lives in order to defend the lives of the capital's peaceful population and the peace of our nation. After order is restored the Soviet troops will return to their bases. Workers of Budapest, welcome with affection our friends and allies!"

1254 "Attention! Attention! In a few minutes it will be two o'clock [1300 GMT]. Those who surrender before that hour will be exempt from martial law. Attention! Attention! We request that our listeners put their radio sets in their windows. We want to inform counterrevolutionaries and those who were misled that, if they surrender before the deadline, they will be exempt from martial law."

1307 Announcement that the deadline for surrender under amnesty had been extended to 1700 [GMT]. "The armed forces which had penetrated the radio studio building have now announced that they are ready to surrender."

1312 "Women! Do not let your husbands run into deadly danger. You must prevent them from supporting counterrevolutionary forces. Mothers! Do not let your sons run in the streets where they face deadly gun barrels. Women! Do not let yourselves be fooled by provocateurs."

1353 "Attention! Attention! The Minister of the Interior . . . has ordered a curfew from 1700 [GMT] on October 24 to 0500 [GMT] on October 25. The above measure is designed to serve the interests of the peaceful population, as the city has not yet been cleared of certain isolated counterrevolutionary groups. During the time the curfew is in force the gates of all housing units must be kept closed."

Appeal by the National Trade Union Council for the restoration of order. Says "largely well-intentioned" demonstration was "turned into a counterrevolutionary movement by irresponsible elements and provocateurs."

Many politically inexperienced youth were won over." Reiterates confidence in Imre Nagy and the new government. Also appeals for order in the name of the Petofi Club.

1425 Announces the restoration of order at the Ganz Shipyard, "where, after a siege of three hours, the armed provocateurs were driven out." Similar announcement about two other plants.

1455 "In the name of all Hungarian journalists the National Association of Hungarian Newspapermen welcomes the fact that our country has reached an important milestone of democratization." Statement goes on to support Nagy, agrees with demands of youth at demonstration, and condemns "irresponsible elements and enemy provocateurs." Appeals for order.

1645 Announces fifteen minutes remain until end of amnesty period. Appeal for order to "misled" youth and students from the DISZ Central Directorate.

1650 Statement by Arpad Szakasits<sup>5</sup>: "My friends, my comrades and old comrades-in-arms! I share with you these tragic hours of our People's Democracy for which we have fought so many difficult battles. These heart-breaking hours do not permit me to speak of the things which have brought us to this moment. We do not now need to speak of the things which have led us to this moment. We need not now speak of the severe errors committed in the areas of our political and economic life, because our Party and our entire working class are ready to make up for those errors. . . . It is the more agonizing that the peaceful demonstration which was to reflect the enthusiasm of our youth and of our working people has been utilized by anti-democratic irresponsibles who still weep for a return to the past." He appeals for order.

1655 "Only a few minutes to take advantage of the generosity of our government . . . and avoid the death sentence of court martial."

1657 An appeal to bakers to continue making bread.

1710 Announcement that members of fighting groups are abandoning arms in doorways, and appeals to the population to hand arms over to the police.

1730 "The anger and indignation of the working class is expressed in telegrams addressed to the Central Committee from all parts of the country." Names of such factories and enterprises are then given.

The Presidency of the PPF National Council issues an

<sup>5</sup> Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party at the time of the 1948 merger with the Communists, was subsequently President of the combined Party, and followed Tildy as President of Hungary, 1948-1950.

appeal condemning "counterrevolutionaries and provocateurs" and backing Nagy.

Richard Horvath, President of the Peace Council of Catholic Priests, calls on the nation to trust Nagy.

1748 "The parents of Laszlo [last name unintelligible], 17 years old, have been notified that their son is taking part in the fighting. His mother has had a nervous breakdown. If he wishes to see his mother alive he should go home immediately."

## Wednesday, October 24, 1956 – Night

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1900 "IN CONNECTION with the appalling events in Budapest, Jozsef Grosz, Archbishop of Kalocsa, at present Chairman of the Bench of Bishops, has made the following statement:

"The standpoint of the Catholic Church is open and clear. We condemn massacre and destruction. Members of our flock know this. Therefore, I sincerely hope that our believers will not take part in such activities, but will give an example by preserving quiet and order, and try to assure the Hungarian future by peaceful work."

1900 Reports of heavy fighting in certain areas. Statement that sizable Army armored units together with Communists and workers, are battling groups armed with automatic pistols, machine guns, hand grenades and other weapons.

1900 Description of street fighting around Budapest radio station: "There was a state of siege in the radio building, but transmissions went out undisturbed. Later, two trucks arrived with armed hooligans. They occupied nearby buildings and fired at the studio. Only then, as a last resort, after many guards had been killed and countless wounded, were the guards given the order to fire."

1945 Janos Kadar,<sup>6</sup> a Secretary of the Central Committee, addresses the nation. He says, in part:

"It is only with glowing anger that we can speak of this attack by which counterrevolutionary, reactionary elements have risen against the capital of our country, against our people's democratic order and the power of the working class. . . . Only surrender or complete defeat can await those who stubbornly continue their murderous and, at the same time, completely hopeless fight against the order of our working class. At the same time, we must be aware that the provocateurs, surreptitiously entering the fight, have been using as a cover many people who have lost their way in these hours of chaos, and particularly many young people whom we cannot consider conscious enemies of our regime. Accordingly, now that we have reached the stage of liquidating the hostile attack and with a view to avoiding further bloodshed, we have offered and are offer-

ing to these misguided individuals who surrender voluntarily the possibility of saving their lives and futures and returning to the ranks of honest men.

"The fight is being waged chiefly by the most loyal units of our People's Army, by the members of our Internal Security Corps and police, showing heroic courage, and by former partisans with the support of our brothers and allies, the Soviet troops. . . . The path of decisive reform is open to us. It is for you to cleanse and free this path from every counterrevolutionary force."

1950 "The Party and government are masters of the situation. This does not mean, however, that order and calm prevail everywhere. The situation at 1900 hrs. [GMT] tonight in the capital is that there are still several pockets where armed fighting against our people's democratic regime is being conducted, despite the fact that arms were laid down in many places.

"The organs of the Party and government are present everywhere and consequently they know that in many places individual groups continue to put up resistance, even at this hour, simply because they misjudge or are ignorant of the situation. These groups are being asked repeatedly to lay down their arms, as their situation is hopeless."

2023 "The Hungarian Red Cross appeals to its activists and blood donors to report, if possible by telephone, to the ambulance services of their place of work or place of residence so that in case of need the greatest possible help can be given to those who require it."

2103 "The Budapest directorate of the Hungarian State Railways appeals to those of its workers who have not yet reported for work to go to their places of work tomorrow morning."

2103 "We inform the population of Budapest that the state of emergency is in force as of 1700 [GMT]. This fact will be taken into consideration in judging the cases of counterrevolutionaries who surrender voluntarily."

2230 "Here is a comment made by a government spokesman: Comrade Imre Nagy has already stated that we do not want reprisals, we want reconciliation. However, this presupposes complete surrender and firm steadiness by the sober elements. Everybody is now working to this end."

2230 Statement that all Budapest ambulances are in constant use, and that three buses have been put into service

<sup>6</sup> Had been a Minister of the Interior, and was a Central Committee member when, in 1951, he was arrested in connection with the Rajk case. Tortured in prison. Released in 1953. Made a member of the Central Committee Secretariat in July 1956.

transporting the wounded to hospitals in quieter sections of the city. Points out that ambulances do not discriminate in giving aid but help all those in need.

2300 "We shall now read a communique on the situation prevailing at midnight [Budapest time]. . . . The situation has further improved. The armed attackers are increasingly isolated. In some places, however, they have begun new actions. They are carrying out surprise attacks in groups of two or three.

"The Party and government are making every effort to restore order as soon as possible. . . . More and more factories are starting work and it is planned to examine streetcar tracks immediately to prepare for the restoration of service on certain lines. Further bloodshed is senseless. The government demands most categorically that the armed aggressors cease their resistance, surrender or throw away their arms. The government is master of the situation. Let peaceful, constructive work start in as many places as possible, in factories, enterprises and shops."

## Thursday, October 25, 1956

*The Nagy government claims its forces have restored order in Budapest, but admits fighting continues. Erno Gero is relieved as First Party Secretary and replaced by Janos Kadar. Nagy and Kadar announce that, following restoration of order, negotiations for withdrawal of Soviet troops will be initiated. Nagy promises to reconvene parliament and to consider a reform program and reorganization of the government.*

### -Morning

#### Radio Budapest, Home Service

0330 "BEFORE we begin our musical program, here is an appeal by the Budapest Party Committee and the Budapest City Council:

"People of Budapest, comrades. The counterrevolutionary gangs have by and large been liquidated. It is possible, however, that small groups attempting to escape might try to take cover in some houses. Our armed forces continue the final liquidation of counterrevolutionary groups. The Budapest Party Committee and the Budapest City Council appeal to the people to try to prevent, for their own sake, the entry of these elements into their houses. They suggest that tenants' committees organize gate guards to prevent armed elements from hiding in the houses."

0345 "The Minister of the Interior appeals to those who have unlicensed arms, ammunition or explosives in their possession to hand them over to the competent district police officers within 24 hours. . . . Action will be taken under the appropriate regulations against those who fail to obey this appeal."

0345 "Most of the workers in the food industry have been working almost without interruption for the past two days. . . . There have been difficulties regarding bread and milk supplies because available supplies could not be delivered, due to street fighting and transportation difficulties. . . . There is enough bread in Budapest to satisfy consumers' needs. There is also enough milk. . . . Sufficient quantities of meat, sugar, lard, edible oil and margarine are available."

0350 "Life at the large Budapest railroad stations, particularly the East and West Stations, began again on Wednesday. The fact that many railwaymen were unable to get to work caused much worry. . . ."

0400 "Commuque on the situation as of 0300. The situation has improved considerably in comparison with conditions described in the commuque during the night. The attackers are laying down their arms and surrendering *en masse*. Many of them have thrown away their arms. Individual groups of attackers are moving toward Sorokvar [a village 10 miles southeast of Budapest] with the obvious intention of escape. Another group, with stolen trucks . . . is fleeing towards the Western frontiers. Measures have been taken by local garrisons to halt and disarm them. Only a few groups are still putting up resistance in Budapest, in Rakoczi Street near the Palace Hotel, in Magdolna Street, and near the Ferencvaros Railroad Station. Adequate forces will capture and disarm these groups shortly."

"The fighting at the radio station has not yet completely ended either. A small number of those [attackers] on the premises have not yet complied with demands for surrender. There is shooting going on. The operations to clear the broadcasting station completely will start after daybreak."

"There are still small groups, composed of a few people, who wander about the streets or take up positions in doorways. They are firing, taking advantage of the darkness of night and the dim light of dawn. Smaller groups of Hungarian police and military forces are carefully combing



Imre Nagy

Wide World

the city. Daylight will facilitate this work. Robbers and bandits have tried to take advantage of the cover of darkness. Several thieves have already been arrested.

"The police have received information on plans to rob several department stores. . . . This bears testimony to the fact that only common criminals are attempting resistance in order to be able to rob and continue their excesses. The Party and government are firmly in control of the situation. . . .

"The Budapest Party Committee and the City Council have appealed to the people of Budapest to begin work . . . quietly and in a disciplined manner. They have also requested that workers not be transported to factories or offices in trucks, because some counterrevolutionary groups are trying to escape by truck and also because such a method of transport might give opportunity for provocative acts. Schools will not be open today."

0500 "The Council of Ministers has issued the following communique:

"On orders of the Council of Ministers . . . the Army, the State security forces and armed workers' guards have liquidated, with the help of Soviet troops, the attempt at a counterrevolutionary *coup d'état* on the night of October 24-25. Counterrevolutionary forces have been dispersed, with only minor armed groups and isolated snipers still

active here and there. The government appeals to the people to start traffic—streetcars, trolleybuses and buses—wherever possible. Workers must resume work. Let factories produce and offices and enterprises operate. On the other hand, all educational establishments, i.e., the general and secondary schools and higher institutes of study, will remain closed until further notice. Shops must open at the usual time. The government and the Budapest City Council have instructed the competent organs to assure a systematic supply of commodities and food for the population."

0545 "Counterrevolutionary gangs have set fire to several public buildings, dwellings and department stores in Budapest. . . . At present there is a tremendous struggle to extinguish a serious fire at the National Museum."

0630 "We call the people's attention to the fact that the ban on meetings and public gatherings is still in force."

0630 "The police have retaken the Budapest Szikra printing plant from armed provocateurs and misled persons. The counterrevolutionary forces which occupied the building surrendered this morning and left the plant with raised hands."

0723 "Counterrevolutionary bandits attempted in several places to occupy the telephone exchanges but these attempts were frustrated with the help of State security authorities."

0738 "Szabad Nep, the newspaper of the Hungarian Workers' [Communist] Party, did not appear on Wednesday, and today will not appear until noon. The reason for this is the series of tragic events which took place in our capital since Tuesday night, of which one center was the *Szabad Nep* building.

"Delegations of university students visited our [*Szabad Nep*] offices very frequently beginning early Tuesday afternoon, and asked us for space to print their resolutions and demands. In the evening, the demands and resolutions changed in contents and in tone. Many demonstrators came to our office and reported tragic events. The more sober of these young people became quite desperate, and said, 'We did not want this. . . .

"After 2100 [GMT] the situation changed radically. The demonstrators were different people. . . . After that hour only the howling of counterrevolutionaries and misled young people could be heard in the square in front of *Szabad Nep*. They demanded that *Szabad Nep* publish an appeal for a general strike.

"Then the siege of the building began. The provocateurs attacked with stones, and smashed the building's windows and the glass panels at the entrance. . . . The attackers pushed their way into the building around midnight. They set fire to the *Szabad Nep* bookshop, broke into it and set the books on fire. . . . Several attackers climbed to the sixth floor and tore down the Red Star. Then the armed attackers (for they had by this time obtained weapons) demanded that the staff hand over the building's loudspeaker system. This the staff refused to do, but the attackers found it and broadcast inflammatory

and seditious slogans and appeals to the square below. The crowd advanced yard by yard further into the building, breaking, pilfering, smashing. A woman stepped out of a room. She belonged to the demonstrators, but they thought that she was a member of the editorial staff, and shot her dead. . . .

"The attackers had by then occupied the whole building, and found the entrance to the printing plant. . . . It was due to the calm attitude of the printers and journalists that the demonstrators did not destroy the valuable machines. . . ."

0740 "The Minister of Defense . . . has issued the following appeal:

"I instruct those members of the Army who, for one reason or another, have been separated from their units to report to their commanding officers at their formations immediately, not later than 1100 [GMT], October 25. . . . Signed: Colonel General Istvan Bata, Minister of Defense."

0815 Order of the Day from Defense Minister Bata:

"Exploiting the students' demonstration on October 23, organized counterrevolutionary forces in the capital made an attempt to overthrow our peaceful people's power with armed force in the interest of their vile, anti-democratic aims. Soldiers, NCO's and officers of the Hungarian People's Army held their ground with honor in the fight-

ing to put down this counterrevolutionary attempt on October 24. They have proved that even in the most difficult times they are loyal defenders of the power of the people, of the proletarian dictatorship. . . . Together with the police and with the units of the fraternal Soviet Army they insured . . . the defense of our People's Democracy and the power of the people. I order that, with increased activity and full determination, the soldiers of our People's Army completely eliminate by midday the counterrevolutionary forces still to be found in Budapest. . . ."

1047 "Although the restoration of order is progressing well . . . certain irresponsible elements and small groups are trying to cause confusion, shots are being fired. . . . We call on the population in its own interest not to go out into the streets unless it is absolutely necessary."

1133 A communique from the Party Politburo:

"At its meeting today the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' [Communist] Party relieved Comrade Erno Gero of his post of First Secretary of the Central Committee. The Politburo appointed Janos Kadar as First Secretary of the Central Committee. Following the Politburo meeting, Comrade Kadar and Comrade Imre Nagy will broadcast statements. [The communique is repeated several times, followed each time by the words, "Hungarians, put out the national flag on your houses."]"

## Thursday, October 25, 1956—Afternoon

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1200 "ATTENTION! Attention! Here is an important announcement:

"We ask our listeners to place their radio sets in their windows, if possible. The Party and government appeal to the Hungarian working people to help in restoring order so that peaceful constructive work can start as soon as possible. The Party and government appeal to everyone to return to his place of work or to his home, to put an end to demonstrations, and thus help isolate and eliminate those attacks which continue to assail the workers' power."

1213 "We announced a few minutes ago the decision of the Politburo. According to the reports of our correspondents the people of Budapest received the news with joy. In Angyalfold [a district of Budapest] the workers embraced and kissed each other. The people have hoisted national flags over their houses. There were cheers everywhere. On the Great Boulevard, Museum Boulevard and elsewhere, the National Anthem, and the Marseillaise are being played."

1418 "Now Comrades Janos Kadar and Imre Nagy will address you. Comrade Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee, is speaking:

"Hungarian workers, dear comrades! The Politburo of

our Party has entrusted to me the post of First Secretary in a grave and difficult situation. . . . The grave situation in which we are involved is characterized by the fact that various elements are mixed up in it. The demonstration march of a section of our youth, which started peaceably in accordance with the aims of an overwhelming majority of participants, degenerated after a few hours, in accordance with the intentions of anti-democratic and counterrevolutionary elements which joined them, into an armed attack against the State power of the people's democracy. . . .

"Comrades, the Central Committee of the Party proposes to the government that, after order has been restored, the government should conduct talks with the Soviet government in the spirit of complete equality between Hungary and the Soviet Union, brotherly cooperation and internationalism, for the equitable and just settlement of questions pending between the two Socialist countries.

"Workers, Communist comrades, be unflinching and firm. Defend the order of the people's power, our Socialist State and the future of the working people."

1425 "You will now hear the speech of Comrade Imre Nagy, member of the Politburo and Premier:

"Working people of Hungary, during the past few days our country has lived through tragic events. A small group of counterrevolutionary provocateurs launched an

armed attack against the order of our People's Republic, an attack which has been supported by part of the workers of Budapest because of their bitterness over the situation of the country. This bitterness has been aggravated by the political and economic mistakes of the past, the remedying of which has been made absolutely imperative by the situation of the country and the general desires of the people. The new Party leadership and the government under my direction are resolved to draw the fullest lessons from the tragic events. Soon after the restoration of order the National Assembly will be called. At that session I will submit an all-embracing and basic program of reform.

"This program will embrace all important problems of our national life. This program demands the reorganization of the government on the basis of the unification of broad democratic national forces represented by the reorganized Patriotic People's Front. For the realization of this program it is absolutely necessary to stop the fighting immediately, to restore order and peace, and to continue production. . . .

"As Premier I wish to announce that the Hungarian government will begin talks with the Soviet Union concerning the relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union, and, among other things, concerning the withdrawal of the Soviet forces stationed in Hungary. These talks will be carried out on the basis of equality and national independence between Communist Parties and Socialist countries. I am convinced that Hungarian-Soviet relations built on this basis will provide a firm groundwork for the future friendship between our peoples, for our national development and our Socialist future. The withdrawal of Soviet forces whose intervention in the fighting has been made necessary by the vital interests of our Socialist order will take place without delay after the restoration of peace and order.

"Toward all those who took up arms without the intention of overthrowing our people's democratic order and who immediately stop fighting and hand over their arms, toward all those youths and workers and soldiers who do this, the government will display far-reaching generosity in the spirit of reconciliation and understanding, and to them martial law will not apply. At the same time, in the interest of the working people who desire peace and order, and in defense of our democratic State, we will apply the full severity of the law to those who continue armed attacks, who continue to incite and plunder. . . .

"I am filled with profound grief over every drop of blood shed during these tragic days by innocent victims among our working people. Let this tragic fight, this useless shedding of blood, be ended. Hungarians, friends, comrades, let us set out under the leadership of the Party along the road of peaceful and creative work, building a better, more beautiful Socialist future for our people."

1548 Gabor Tanczos, Secretary of the Petofi Club, reads an appeal on behalf of the club leadership:

"Friends, Hungarian young men and women, I speak to you in the name of the Petofi Club, the organization which has done so much in the past few months to fight for true democracy and for the elimination of Rakosi's shameful individual tyranny. We greatly appreciate the enthusiasm you have displayed in the past few days. We respect your true patriotism. We are quite certain you have nothing to do with certain stupid elements demonstrating their cruelty. We know that the mistakes committed by the wrong leadership of the now-relieved Erno Gero have filled many with bitterness and have led them to commit acts they did not originally intend.

"But now our leadership is good. Janos Kadar, who has suffered in the prisons of individual tyranny, has become First Party Secretary. Imre Nagy . . . heads the government. We must begin working and studying at last. No more precious human blood must be shed. We must prepare for great deeds, for the building of a truly democratic Hungary, Socialist in a Hungarian way and equal with any other nation. We must achieve a democratic school system, university reform, and improvement of students' hostels. But we cannot build, give accommodations, raise the standard of living and educate while the guns are roaring."

1602 Announcement of curfew from 1700 [GMT] to 0500 [GMT], during which time all house entrances must be locked.

1745 Message by Gyula Hay.<sup>1</sup> He says in part:

"I was with you and marched among you through the streets of Budapest, arm in arm. . . . I have been fighting along with you for years for a new, young literature, for honor, for youth, for truth and for the people. I know you and I know that you are honest patriots, that every breath you draw is true. If need be I would stand before any tribunal in the world and declare: these young people are not criminals, they deserve no punishment.

"But this testimony will not be necessary. . . . Imre Nagy is our man, his program is our program. Janos Kadar learned in Rakosi's prison what the Hungarians must be protected against. . . . We must immediately revert to peaceful methods; fighting must stop immediately. Even peaceful demonstrations should not now be undertaken, because they might be misinterpreted. Guard your lives now, your country will need you badly in the new Hungary freeing itself from tyranny. This is the message of your loving old friend, Gyula Hay, the writer."

<sup>1</sup> Communist author and playwright who, as a "rebel," played a prominent role in the recent ferment of liberalization.



United Press

Hungarian patriots hold a mass anti-Soviet demonstration in a torn-up Budapest street late on October 24.

## Thursday, October 25, 1956—Night

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1830 "RUMORS are circulating in the capital that many of those detained by the authorities in the course of armed clashes have been executed. The Ministry of Justice has ascertained that this is not true."

### Radio Budapest, in French to Europe

2300 "We will now describe the situation in Budapest. On Thursday morning work was resumed in most Budapest factories. Food shops have reopened and in the morning business was resumed in several markets. During the morning there were no particularly grave incidents. Toward midday the number and intensity of armed clashes increased and they continued late into the afternoon. These clashes resulted in deaths and injuries at several points in the capital....

"According to the latest information, the population has generally received with satisfaction the news of Erno Gero's dismissal, and the armed clashes decreased both in number and in intensity in the evening. Nevertheless, new incidents have taken place this evening at several points in the city. A curfew is in force but several groups are still gathered in the streets.

"During the morning an attempt was made to restore transportation, but in view of the incidents this plan was

abandoned. In the afternoon stores closed, with the exception of food stores and pharmacies. . . . According to information from the provinces, demonstrations have taken place in several provincial towns, but for the most part these were carried on in a relatively orderly fashion."

### Radio Free Miskolc\*

At some time during this day, a station identifying itself as "the Miskolc studio of the Hungarian Radio" broke into the air with the following:

"End the massacre of Hungarians in Budapest. Do not believe lies. Let them withdraw Soviet troops from Hungary. Strike!

"We have had enough of this. Enough of the autocracy of certain leaders. We too want Socialism, but according to our own special Hungarian conditions, reflecting the interests of the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian nation, and our most sacred national sentiments.

"We demand the elimination, without any other considerations, of all persons who compromised themselves by the cult of personality.<sup>2</sup>

\* At this date, Soviet troops were in action only in Budapest. It was therefore possible for patriotic Hungarians, Communist or otherwise, to broadcast freely over provincial radio stations. All stations not under the domination of Soviet forces will herein be described as free.

<sup>2</sup> "The cult of personality": a term stressed at the Soviet Twentieth Party Congress denoting Stalinist methods of rule.

"We demand that those Communists and non-Communists who, in obeying the principles of proletarian internationalism, honor above all our Hungarian national tradition and thousand-year history be given the most important positions in the Party and government.

"We demand the revision of the institutions of the State security authorities and the immediate elimination of all leaders and functionaries who are the slightest degree compromised.

"We demand an open trial of Mihaly Farkas before an independent court, regardless of the possibilities that this trial will compromise individuals currently holding important positions.

"With regard to the grave errors committed in the field of planned economy, we demand the immediate dismissal of the responsible leaders of the planning organs.

"We demand an increase of real wages.

"We believe our demands will be realized if our parliament ceases to be an election machine, and the members of parliament cease to be yes-men.

"We demand that March 15 be proclaimed a national holiday, and we also demand that October 6<sup>th</sup> be declared a national memorial day."

<sup>3</sup> Anniversary of the execution by the Austrians of rebellious Hungarian generals, 1849.

## Friday, October 26, 1956

*Fighting continues throughout the country. Insurgents take the entire area between Magyarovar and the Hungarian frontier station of Hegyeshalom.*

*The Party Central Committee pledges: 1. election of a new government based on the Patriotic People's Front (PPF); 2. correction of past mistakes; 3. negotiations with the USSR for withdrawal of Soviet troops and the establishment of relations between the two countries on the basis of complete equality; 4. acceptance of workers' councils and raising of wage rates; 5. a complete amnesty to all participants in the fighting.*

### -Morning

#### Radio Budapest, Home Service

0330 THE COUNCIL of Ministers calls upon the people of Budapest to remain at home, not to go into the streets, except for those in essential industries who must have their identity cards with them.

0447 The Council of Ministers and the Minister of the Interior announce that gradual restoration of order makes it possible for the people of Budapest to buy their most necessary goods between 0900 in the morning and 1400 hrs. in the afternoon.

0552 The Minister of Internal Trade and Food Industry calls on all workers in food and transport industries to do all in their power to keep their facilities available from 0900 in the morning to 1400 in the afternoon so that the people may buy their necessities.

0621 The Council of Ministers and the Finance Minister decree that plant managers are, "in accordance with instructions, [to see] that workers and employees receive the wages due them, or sufficient advances."

0647 Excerpts from *Szabad Nep* article, "Order and Peace are Needed":

"Enough bloodshed! For three days blood has flowed in the streets of Budapest. . . . Because it is still necessary to do so, we shall speak of the reasons that caused the insurrection, about the oppressing responsibility of a wicked leading clique, alien to our people, which cannot be iden-

tified with the Party. We shall speak about the mistakes in that clique's policy, its crimes and its blindness. We shall say that not only those participated in the insurrection who were induced to do so by their bitterness about our country's situation, but also real counterrevolutionary forces and other bad elements. . . . The Premiership of Imre Nagy, the replacement of Erno Gero, the first declarations of Imre Nagy and Janos Kadar, and the expected reform of the government show that we have at last begun to take the right measures. However, we still have much to do, very much indeed, before we can say that the national and democratic demands of our youth and our working people have actually been realized. . . . Calm and order are needed for all this. . . . Peace and order are needed so that Soviet troops can be withdrawn from Budapest as well as from Hungary, so that Hungarian-Soviet relations can be settled with justice. . . .

"At the demand of the people, the leadership of the government has been assumed by Imre Nagy, who has incessantly fought against sectarian errors and offenses, and who is excellently versed in Hungarian reality.

"Under his leadership [the government's] . . . program is an independent Hungary building Socialism, democratization of our social and economic life, the national unity of patriotic forces, and growing prosperity.

"During the next few days the National Assembly will meet to give constitutional sanction to these changes of vast importance. . . .

"The Party's top leadership is almost completely new. Just how new is this Party leadership? Let it suffice to say

that all three Secretaries—Janos Kadar, Ferenc Donath, and Gyula Kallai—have for years been prisoners of the Rakosi-type of despotism. As victims of faked trials they spent years in prison, from which they have only recently been released. If anyone knows that one must not walk on the old road, they do. Let Communists explain that he who wants to set the people against these leaders and wants to spread mistrust against them, helps everybody except the people."

0900 The Minister of the Interior warns that all who have firearms will be shot at by mopping-up troops. No one is to go out into the street after 1400 [GMT]. Traffic across the bridges is prohibited at any time.

### Radio Free Miskolc

0010 "Comrade Imre Nagy declared furthermore that no disturbances or provocations have taken place in Miskolc or Borsod County. He requests the people of Miskolc and Borsod Counties to see that this does not happen in the future either. . . .

"The Committee of the workers' council of Greater Miskolc and the Party Committee, independently of the answer made by Comrade Imre Nagy . . . just read, have, on the basis of the resolution of the working people . . . decided to maintain the demands they have submitted as long as they are not fulfilled in their essence.

"Our proclamation issued to the workers in connection with these demands, and which bears the Kossuth arms, consists of five points, as follows: 1. We demand that the Soviet Army leave the country immediately; 2. A new Hungarian government; 3. The right of workers to strike; 4. Complete amnesty for Hungarians who have participated in the revolution; 5. As long as these [demands] are not fulfilled the people of Borsod County and Greater Miskolc respectively will strike, with the exception of railways, mining, health services, public supply, electric power supply, and the press. . . .

"Young workers and students: conduct yourself in a disciplined manner. Do not offer any reason for any interference by the authorities. We are able to assert our demands without bloodshed. In the attainment of their ends you can furnish the people of Budapest the greatest aid if you carry on the strike in a disciplined manner and if you do not demonstrate unnecessarily. Do not commit any provocation or any sabotage, because the only thing we would achieve by that would be the weakening of our common forces.

"Assist us and do not give way to ill-considered enthusiasm and student romanticism. We are not cowards but we cannot be irresponsible either. We understand your anxieties on account of the events in Budapest, but we are anxious for you too. The country needs not heroic dead but honest working citizens.

"In the interest of insuring the withdrawal of Soviet troops we have sent a telegram to the Council of Ministers. Have confidence in us! We have been elected by the workers and not by the government!

" . . . The workers' council furthermore requests leaders of enterprises and plants to elect their representatives to



*United Press*

Patriots hang red, white and green flag of Hungary from a government building during an anti-Soviet demonstration on October 25. The hammer and sickle in the flag was ripped out, leaving the flag as it was before the Communists took over the country.

these councils with the utmost urgency, without regard for Party affiliation and with due regard to the confidence of the working people. . . .

"Signed: the leadership of the workers' council of Borsod County and Greater Miskolc."

### Radio Pecs

0120 "This is Radio Pecs. We notify the inhabitants of the city and County that there is no such thing as a revolutionary committee. What happened is this. One or two irresponsible elements, posing as a revolutionary committee, broke into the studio in the evening hours and had an announcement read. [Signed] Colonel Gyorgy Bradacs, head of the Baranya County district of the Ministry of Interior.

"Attention! Attention! We now read an important announcement. Attention! Attention! Curfew! Curfew! Until further notice, in the area of the city of Pecs, I order a curfew until 0400 [GMT]. It is prohibited to be in the streets and squares. Gyorgy Bradacs, Colonel."

0130 ". . . all State and social organs of the city of Pecs stand firmly on the side of the People's Democracy. They

have not gone over to the side of the Revolutionary Committee and will not do so. Wherever they get hold of them, they will hang them on the spot."

\* Pecs is the county seat of Baranya County. Station seems to have changed hands at this point, henceforth backing the rebels.

### Radio Free Baranya\* (Pecs)

1045 "The resistance groups Kinizsy and Zrinyi should report and keep in contact! Until further instructions, the direction of the attack remains unchanged."

## Friday, October 26, 1956 – Afternoon

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1200 "THE WORKERS of Borsod County have issued an important proclamation. Imre Nagy has agreed to the demands of the Borsod workers. . . . The proclamation, among other things, sharply and firmly condemns the policy which carried the country to the brink of a grave crisis. The proclamation states that the Borsod workers want Socialism and want to nip in the bud any possible attempt at restoration.

"They enumerate 21 points in their demands . . . public trial . . . of Mihaly Farkas and his associates; revision and publication of foreign trade agreements; correction of serious errors in planned economy and removal of those responsible from their posts; utilization of uranium, a national treasure, in accordance with the interests of the nation. In those points dealing with raising the living standards, the Borsod workers demand a rise in basic wages in the various categories, abolition of concealed wages in price increases, lowering of the pension age, increases in pensions and family allowances, the abolition of the tax on those who are childless, extension of the reduced fare concessions on railways, increased housing construction, and support for the small dwelling house building schemes. . . .

"As regards political questions, they agree to the fullest extent with the political changes in a Poland led by Gomulka. They condemn the 'yes men' of the Hungarian National Assembly and demand that Soviet troops be withdrawn from the territory of Hungary at the latest by January 1.

"To the workers of Borsod and Miskolc, Comrade Imre Nagy replied that he agreed with every point. . . . Tonight, or tomorrow morning, a new government will be formed, a Patriotic People's Front government. . . ."

1200 "It is evident now that changes of colossal importance have taken place in Hungary.

"The most important result was that during the last days a new government was formed under Imre Nagy's leadership. Yet that great victory required many sacrifices, ravages and deaths, sufferings of mothers and children, as well as fuel and food shortages. The difficulties were increased by the fact that looters and striplings shooting aimlessly got mixed up with the university students, young workers, and those who fought for political aims. They have already caused much harm and today represent the most important obstacle to settlement. They hinder peace-

ful work. . . . We are requesting you, who still have weapons in your hand and endanger the lives of innocent people: lay down your rifles and pistols and no harm will befall you.

"To you, demonstrators with honest intentions and to you, members of the Army: disarm the troublemakers! Disarm those endangering the achievements you have already made. The very urgent present tasks demand that from you—for your mothers, younger brothers and sisters. It is really high time to deliver them from the difficulties of the state of siege, from starvation."

1210 "University students! You have firmly expressed the opinion of the country. The majority of the workers of the capital gathered around your justified demands. Now be the champions of restoring order and discipline, your demands having been fulfilled.

"Tell your friends that bloodshed no longer makes sense. Begin restoring order, clearing the road to re-establish transport and the circulation of life. The workers of Budapest ask that of you now!"

1306 "Armed young people, we appeal to you who are still fighting. Precious Hungarian blood is flowing on the streets of Budapest. Avoid this senseless bloodshed! The new government will consistently satisfy your demands. Young patriots, enough bloodshed. We Hungarians are so few. Let there be no more shedding of patriot's blood. Lay down your arms and the People's government will not put you before a summary tribunal. Do not be afraid to surrender to the armed forces in charge of maintaining order. Young patriots, come, we are waiting for you. The government guarantees that no harm will be done to you. [Signed:] Headquarters of the Armed Forces in charge of maintaining order."

1545 "Declaration of the Hungarian Workers' [Communist] Party addressed to the Hungarian people:

"Since the two world wars our country has not experienced days as tragic as the past few days. A fratricidal battle is raging in the capital of our country. The number of injured can be estimated to run into the thousands and the dead into the hundreds. An immediate end must be put to the bloodshed. To insure this, the Central Committee is resorting to the following measures:

"1. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party addresses a proposal to the presidium of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front to put a recom-

mendation before the Presidential Council of the People's Republic for the election of a new national government. This government shall have the mission of making good without fail the mistakes and crimes of the past and, relying on the entire nation, help to solve our people's every legitimate demand, and with our people's inexhaustible strength, create a free country of well-being, independence, and Socialist democracy. The Central Committee, led by Comrade Imre Nagy, is presenting recommendations regarding members of a government to be formed on the broadest national foundations.

"2. The new government shall begin negotiations with the Soviet government on the basis of independence, complete equality and noninterference in internal affairs to settle relations between our countries. As a first step toward this end, after the restoration of order, the Soviet troops will immediately return to their bases. Complete equality between Hungary and the Soviet Union corresponds with the interests of both countries, for only on that basis can a truly fraternal, unbreakable Hungarian-Soviet friendship be built. It is on that basis that relations between Poland and the Soviet Union are now being reshaped.

"3. The Central Committee deems correct the election of workers' councils in the factories through the intermediary of the trade union organs. To satisfy the legitimate material demands of the working class, wage increases must be implemented within the limits of our material possibilities; maximum efforts must be made in the first place for those in the lower-paid brackets.

"4. The government shall grant an amnesty to all those who have taken part in the armed battles, with the sole provision that they lay down their arms immediately, but by 2100 hrs [GMT] at the latest.

"5. The Central Committee and the government leave no room for doubt regarding their stand on the basis of Socialist democracy, but at the same time they are firmly resolved to defend the achievements of our People's Democracy, and not to give up any [essential part] of it. Their program is suitable as a unified rallying point of every honest patriot. The Central Committee is not oblivious to the fact that our People's Democracy still has bitter and desperate enemies and appeals to Communists, Hungarian workers—and primarily the workers—the armed forces, former partisans, the firm protectors of the people's power, with the warning that those who take up arms against the State power of our People's Republic and fail to lay down arms within the fixed time limit, shall be annihilated without mercy.

"6. Immediately after order has been restored, we shall set about elaborating all the changes to be realized in our people's economy, farm policy, People's Front policy, our Party's leadership, and other activities, so that the principles of Socialist democracy may be fully enforced.

"Through consultation with all the people we shall build up and realize the great national program of a democratic, Socialist, independent and sovereign Hungary. Let the nation's unity and reconciliation replace the tragic era of murderous fratricide! Let the wounds heal which we have



United Press

Hungarian patriots crowd aboard a captured Soviet tank on its way to fight Russian troops in the streets of the Hungarian capital. October 26.

inflicted upon ourselves! If we want to live, we must begin a new life. It is up to us alone to achieve—after the horrible tribulations—internal peace, life without fear, productive work that results in prosperity and freedom, the rule of law and justice in our country, and a democratic Socialist Hungary, built on new foundations.

"[Signed] The Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party, Budapest, October 26, 1956."

1756 "Attention! Attention! The curfew has been in force since 1400 [GMT] today. From that time on, gates must be closed everywhere. Concierges and chairmen of the tenant committees must insure that gates are not opened to anybody who has no business in the house and is not registered as living in the house. In this way, let them contribute to the restoration of order and calm."

### Radio Budapest, in French to Europe

1310 "Nepszava, the newspaper of the National Trade Union Council, announces under a banner headline: 'No one has been executed and no one has been brought

before a court of summary jurisdiction.' Citing a communique of the Ministry of Justice, the paper refutes rumors claiming that several persons have been executed after arrest. . . .

"*Nepszava* carries the immediate program defined by the Hungarian trade unions. Here are its political points:

"1. End of fighting. Proclamation of amnesty and opening, with trade union participation, of negotiations with youth delegates; 2. Constitution of a broadly-based government with Imre Nagy as Chairman and with the participation of trade unions and youth. Revelation in absolute frankness of the country's economic situation; 3. A law to assure material support to those who have been disabled in the course of the tragic fighting and to the families of the dead; 4. In the interests of maintaining order, reinforcing the police, and the army, the formation of a great national army composed of workers and youth; 5. Formation of a working youth organization with full trade union support; 6. The government to be formed should immediately initiate talks with a view to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our country.

"Economic points in the Hungarian trade union program:

"1. Constitution of workers' councils in every factory with the participation of intellectuals in the factory. Installation of a worker directorate, parallel with the radical transformation of the centralized planning system. . . . Immediate formation of workers' councils which should [contract] without delay with their trade union centers to fix the tasks; 2. Readjustment of salaries to be launched with an immediate rise of 15 percent for salaries of less than 800 *forint* and of 10 percent in salaries of less than 1500 *forint*. The fixing of a ceiling salary of 3500 *forint* per month; 3. General end to production norms with the exception of factories where workers or workers' councils desire their maintenance; 4. Abolition of the four percent bachelor and childless family tax. 5. Increase of the lower pension scales with due consideration for length of service; 6. Increase in family allowances to bring about a radical improvement in the material situation of large families; 7. Speed-up of large-scale housing construction financed by the State and

cooperatives, and organization of a powerful social movement by individuals for mass production of housing.

"8. Imre Nagy's promise should be kept regarding the initiation of negotiations with the Soviet government and the governments of other countries for the establishment of economic relations assuring reciprocal advantages on the basis of the principle of equality. Hungarian trade unions should function as they did before 1948. They should change their names and henceforth be called 'Free Hungarian Trade Unions' and submit this name to the trade union congress.

"Signed: Presidium of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions.

"*Nepszava* also carries the demands of the writers, contained in the following points:

"1. The units of the State security forces should cease fire immediately. 2. Soviet units should be recalled to their bases. 3. Total amnesty for all combatants and soldiers. 4. Maintenance of order should be assured by the Hungarian People's [regular] Army. 5. Imre Nagy should form a government of national unity immediately and this government should step to the helm of the national movement. 6. Workers' councils should be elected in all factories.

"This list of demands was signed: Hungarian writers and artists."

### Radio Free Nyiregyhaza

1730 The executive committee of the workers' council calls for peace and order, and applauds the workers' ". . . march to the main square of the town, carrying the national colors, giving strength to our new life unfolding in the spirit of broad national unity. This peaceful demonstration was worthy of the workers, working peasants, white-collar workers and students of Nyiregyhaza. . . .

"The working people of Nyiregyhaza trust that the new government will act without subterfuge, sincerely in the spirit of humaneness, and in the interest of our people, supported by the broad democratic national forces. The workers of the town compiled their demands and the printing shop printed them immediately in hundreds of thousands of copies. . . ."

## Friday, October 26, 1956 – Night

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1807 "THE CENTRAL Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party has adopted . . . the reform program of the people of Budapest demanding a national and Socialist renovation. This program outlines a truly national, independent policy and does not avoid the awkward questions which have been the reason for so many misunderstandings, and more than once for unreasonable hatred. . . ."

1835 ". . . We have been living at our posts for eleven years, on this soil, thirsting for the time of our human and national existence. We longed for that . . . but here at home we were given the drink of lies with which to quench our thirst . . . the world tempted us with concocted brews. In this troubled situation, after longing for years, could we do anything else as sons of our nation than what we have done? We brewed a soothing and reviving drink for ourselves. This is an eternal warning to ourselves and to the world. It tells us that we should have carried out the revo-



Free Europe Press

The Hungarian security police (AVH) building a day or so after it was captured by the freedom fighters. A Hungarian flag flies from the balcony.

lution of our age ourselves. Since we did not do this, but accepted it as a gift, years have come to us which tried to distort our traditions, which fettered our nature, and which gave us doubts about our future. In this false situation, the people could not find their peace, and their creative power was threatened by paralysis. Therefore, what is happening, had to happen. The chalice in which drops of Hungarian blood sanctify the reviving drink warns the world to watch over the dignity of human existence with more care and a purer soul. The powers, which consider it right and proper to live in their own system, should give us the opportunity to live in our own human and national form. This form is nothing else—it cannot be anything else than Socialist democracy and national independence. In governmental matters, a national government could fill this form with the will of the people. . . ."

1855 The Central Committee issues a statement on the election of factory workers' councils, recommending elec-

tion of councils in all plants. "The workers' council should decide on all questions concerning production, administration and plant management. A director's advisory board should be appointed by the council to assist the permanent factory director.

"It shall be the duty of the workers' council to draw up the production plan for the plant and to devise and introduce a reformed wage scheme. The workers' council shall decide on investments and maintenance, including social amenities. At present, it shall be the duty of the workers' councils to safeguard order and discipline in the factories."

The Central Committee also states that its resolution on the subject was not the outcome of "a few hours of deliberation," but had been contemplated since "the July Resolution,"<sup>1</sup> and had already been put into effect in some factories.

<sup>1</sup> The Central Committee Resolution of July 1956, issued after Gero replaced Rakosi as Party First Secretary, which promised increased liberalization.

"... By organizing workers' councils for the defense of factories, let our working class give support to the new Politburo of the Party and the new government in establishing order and setting about constructive work under new conditions."

1904 "In the spirit of appeasement, the government is extending its amnesty decree to all persons who surrender their arms before October 26, 2100 hrs. . . ."

1908 An appeal by the Central Committee to the armed forces, soldiers, armed workers, and "comrades": "Treat those who lay down their arms humanely. Let them go home after they surrender. But after the expiration of the time limit, deal an annihilating blow to all those who continue the armed struggle against the people's power. . . ."

1945 "Communists, patriots, workers, in order to defend our Socialist democracy and the power of our people, the leadership of the Party has been reformed and the government is being reshaped. You know your leaders well. You know that they are true Hungarian patriots. Their persecution [in the past] is a personal guarantee of the fact that the program they have elaborated will be implemented.

"Our enemies so far have been able to take advantage of the crimes of the past, the justified and long unsatisfied demands of the workers. They have misled many honest patriots. But now the declaration of the Central Committee, the words addressed to the entire Hungarian people by Comrade Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee, and Comrade Imre Nagy, the new Chairman of the Council of Ministers, are based on the implementation of the most important, correct, and rightful demands of the workers. . . .

"Signed: The Budapest Party Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party."

2042 "Another 18 minutes and the time limit set by the Central Committee and the Presidential Council for the laying down of arms will expire. Another 18 minutes and we shall put an end to the bloodshed in Budapest. We can end this fratricidal fight. The fight which the young have begun, we may safely claim, has triumphed. Further bloodshed would be senseless.

"An independent Hungary, the further development of democracy, the punishment of the guilty, and the formation of a government under Imre Nagy were the objectives for which young people marched in the street processions. Most young people took up arms for these objectives. These demands have been fulfilled, as is evident from the Central Committee's declaration published earlier. . . .

"There may be some people who think that the amnesty declaration is a sign of weakness on the part of the government. No, this is out of the question. We are not in the habit of using threats and we do not approve of a policy of intimidation, but we must declare that those who do not yield to conciliatory words and for whom the amnesty decree is not enough will come up against the force concentrated in the hands of the government.

"Let the bloodshed come to an end! Let us cease this fight! This is our supreme endeavor. This is the interest of all of us. There are only 16 minutes to go. Lay down your arms!"

2050 "In the streets of Budapest the surrender of arms is in progress. Since a great many misled youths who wish to surrender their arms are unaware of the precise methods by which the arms should be surrendered, we announce the following for their information:

"After a white flag has been raised, arms and ammunition may be handed over to the nearest military unit or patrol. If there are no such units or patrols in the vicinity, the arms and ammunition should be deposited in doorways in the streets. Those who deposit arms may pass on without hindrance."

## Saturday, October 27, 1956

*Formation of a new government is announced. The cabinet is headed by Nagy. Non-Communist personalities in the government include Zoltan Tildy and Bela Kovacs.*

### —Morning

#### Radio Budapest, Home Service

0515 "DEAR LISTENERS, here is an appeal from the Ministry of the Interior: As a result of the amnesty granted by the government, the majority of the fighters laid down their arms last night and the mopping up of elements provoking armed fights in Budapest is continuing successfully. But some failed to realize the seriousness of the situation, even after the Party and government amnesty. Therefore,

further military operations are necessary. In order to be able to free the people of Budapest from the hardship they may suffer in connection with the mopping up, we call upon the people of Budapest not to leave their dwellings until further notice. We also call upon tenants' committees, self-defense committees, and janitors to help in the implementation of our appeal."

0554 "Attention, attention! The curfew applying to the territory of Budapest, issued by the Armed Forces' High

Command, remains valid until revoked. We call upon the people of Budapest to remain in their homes today, October 27, and not to expose themselves to danger. . . . In cases of absolute necessity persons moving about individually may leave their homes until 0900 but the military are forced to use their arms against groups of more than three.

"Signed: Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces."

0600 "Enough bloodshed! Enough ransacked streets! We would love to know whether our children, our relatives are still alive. We would love to be together again. . . . We would love to enjoy life again; we would like not to fear death any longer. . . . Life which will develop in Hungary after order has been restored will be more beautiful, more human, more Hungarian, than ever before. . . . The realization of these plans is guaranteed by the new government, which is national and democratic, and which is led by Imre Nagy. . . . Those who accept the new Hungarian democratic government will cease fighting immediately, but those who continue fighting, who still choose the means of bloodshed, do not want the democratic revival of the country, but support the return of the landlords, the bankers, of the Eszterhazys and of the Weissmanfreds<sup>1</sup>. . . .

0630 ". . . in every district many groups, profiting by the amnesty decree, have laid down their arms. . . . In the fifth district one could only hear distant firing. In the ninth, there was some shooting from houses by persons who had taken refuge there. In the tenth, there was less firing. In the eleventh, shots were fired on Soviet tanks from the University of Agrarian Sciences. This developed into an exchange of fire."

0710 "Attention! Attention! Dear listeners, we now read a message: Anna Maric Vas and Lajos Cseri are to report immediately to telephone 121-373, for they will have to go away today."

0833 "We apologize to our dear listeners for the break in our transmission from 0827 to 0831 hrs. because of technical difficulties. We will now read an appeal:

"To all house committees:

"The house committee and the house guard and all inhabitants of the house should prevent snipers from hiding in the houses and on the roofs for the mopping-up operations which are being carried on against them would endanger the lives of the inhabitants. In many places around houses, under doors or perhaps inside, weapons may have been left behind. House committees should report this immediately to the nearest Army or police station.

"Because of difficulties in transmitting news, rumors have been spreading. House committees, Communists, and all inhabitants of houses, should do all they can to suppress these rumors, and do everything to reassure the people and restore peace and order.

"Signed: Military Command."

0900 The news reports that resistance has been broken except for "certain isolated groups."

<sup>1</sup> The former were the greatest family of landowners in pre-Communist days, the latter the greatest industrialists.

"The Council of Budapest has asked us to broadcast the following:

"Workers of the Budapest Public Works, workers in the food and in the retail industry. It is the fourth day that a bloody battle has raged in the streets of Budapest. The capital's supplies are sufficient. The public works employees have continued their work during the past days, in many cases at the risk of their lives, to assure water, gas and electricity to the population of the capital. The people of the capital feel a deep gratitude to those bakery workers who, by their heroism, have gone to their places of work, often amid the greatest danger to their lives, to bake the bread necessary for the public supply.

"The same refers to workers in the milk industry, the retail workers, and the transport workers. The retail food distributors have solved an almost impossible problem when, in the short time at their disposal, they managed to satisfy the essential demands of the people. In the name of the capital's population we thank all the workers. . . ."

1018 "The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, on the recommendation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party and the Presidium of the Patriotic People's Front National Council has elected a new government of the Hungarian People's Republic. The composition of that government is as follows: President of the Council [Premier], Imre Nagy; Deputy Presidents, Antal Apro, Jozsef Bognar, Ferenc Erdei. . . ." [For a complete listing of this government, see Appendix, p 111.]

1100 "The strength of groups of wreckers active in Budapest has been broken. By 2100 [GMT] last night, large quantities of arms had been surrendered to Army formations. Many have thrown away their arms and ceased fighting. By this morning only three counterrevolutionary centers remained. Their liquidation is in progress. Those insurgents who laid down their arms by 2100 last night were allowed to go home without delay. The streets of Budapest are being cleared by Army troops in cooperation with units of the Soviet Army, and weapons which have been thrown away are being collected.

"Curfew will continue until order is completely restored. Civilians in Budapest and of several country towns have called our attention to the fact that armed groups in the capital and in the countryside are distributing leaflets which contain declarations made in the name of the government and in the name of other organs, which are causing confusion. They give us permission to state that these leaflets are falsifications. The people should not believe the contents of any leaflet which is not in accordance with the spirit of Comrade Imre Nagy's statements and the resolutions of the Central Committee. . . ."

1128 "The Presidium of the National Council of Trade Unions issued the following appeals:

"Workers, the wish of the working class has been realized. Enterprises will be managed by workers' councils. This completes the process of taking over the factories as the property of the people. Workers, technicians, you can now regard the enterprises entirely as your own. From

now on you will manage them yourself. The over-centralized management of the factories which prevailed up to now will cease, along with the faults arising from it.

"Great responsibility rests with workers' councils. Therefore, you must elect members of workers' councils with great circumspection and from the best and most experienced workers. The new government will increase the wages of those with small salaries. The sooner you start production in the factories and the better our workers' councils operate, the sooner higher wages can be paid. Support, therefore, the new Hungarian government in its efforts for Socialist construction and a free and democratic Hungary.

"Signed: the Presidium of the National Council of Trade Unions."

1135 "Last night we reported armed action during the past few days at Szolnok. The workers' council now refutes this information: apparently the broadcast was based on false information. Szolnok students and young workers send a message to their parents that they are together and in good health."

1150 "The President of the Council of Ministers [Imre Nagy] has ordered creation of a governmental committee for food supply. This committee, the head of which will be Zoltan Vas, will function for a transitional period, and will guarantee the food supply of the population.

"Signed: Imre Nagy."

## Saturday, October 27, 1956—Afternoon

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1212 "A new national government has been formed and took the oath with Comrade Imre Nagy at its head, pledging to lead the country out of the tragic situation into which it was plunged by the political neglect and errors of the past years. The government will assure its consolidation by realizing the announced national program. This is a beautiful and immense task; no Hungarian government has had a similar task for a long time.

"While listening to the list of Ministers, the first question that arises is: will this government be able to cope with the tasks it faces? We are sure that they are willing to do so, for during the past years every one of its members proved that he or she is a Hungarian patriot, loves the country and its people. They were often calumniated for having spoken up for our common cause. This government is not only willing; it is capable of realizing its objectives. Its members are experienced politicians who have proved during the years following liberation that they are qualified statesmen. It is capable of the tasks because it feels the entire population behind it. We are sure that this government will face all its difficulties in order to fulfill consistently the demands of the present day. The government is capable of solving its problems because its leaders also represent truth, Socialist democracy, national independence, and equality of rights for all people. . . .

"The composition of the new government proves that several Hungarian politicians have come back to the places they deserved to occupy after having been neglected for years. This is a satisfaction which they received from the country. This is also a satisfaction to the country because those persons now heading the government enjoy the confidence of all of us."

1303 A member of the Dunapentele<sup>2</sup> delegation sends a message to Poland telling how all the Hungarian workers' demands have been met.

1406 "Appointed by the Presidential Council, I have today taken over the post of Minister of Defense. I expect every member of the Army to support me in my responsible and difficult task and to carry out my orders without fail. I herewith order: 1. Armed units to continue without respite to liquidate armed resistance nests and to restore order; 2. Units on alert to increase their vigilance and to prepare to execute their battle tasks; 3. Orders issued so far to remain in force.

"Signed: Lt. General Janza, Minister of Defense."

1537 "The Minister of the Interior has issued the following order: Budapest—Appointed by the Presidential Council, I have taken over the direction of the Ministry of the Interior today. I expect every employee of the various organs of the Ministry to do his work with the same exemplary devotion to duty as hitherto.

"Signed: Ferenc Munnich, Minister of the Interior."

1550 "The Government of the Polish People's Republic has sent great quantities of medicine to help the Hungarian people. Included in the consignment there is a great quantity of blood plasma, dextrose and bandages, as well as various other important pharmaceutical articles. . . ."

1610 "All Budapest telephone centers are in operation, although not at full capacity. No further damage has been

<sup>2</sup> The original name of the small town, about 40 miles south of Budapest, where the Communists built the new town of Sztralinvaros to house the workers in the new [Joseph] Stalin Steel Works. In these days of the revolution the town, composed of 25-30,000 workers, changed its name back to the original Dunapentele.

caused to the telephone cables or centers. As was announced by the Postmaster General, although there may be some technical breakdowns in some telephone centers, these will gradually be repaired."

### Radio Free Miskolc

1435 The workers' council of Borsod County and of Miskolc "greet with joy" the formation of a new government but will continue to strike until "our demands and, above all, the one concerning withdrawal of Soviet troops, are fulfilled. The council counts on you to strike in a disciplined manner. Hold out! Victory is near!"

1440 "For two days the city of Miskolc has been under the leadership of the workers' council and the students' parliament. The workers' council has taken over control of the garrison and the police. The demands of the workers' council and of the students have been made publicly known by radio and press—the twenty-one points of the workers' councils as well as the universities' eleven points. As you know, the county strike committee has also called on all plants in the county to strike, with the exception of mail, transport, communications, food supplies, health services and power plants."

1445 "The government still does not comply with our demands, and especially with our most important demand that Soviet troops be withdrawn at once. In yesterday's message the government said, 'Let order be restored and Soviet troops will withdraw to their bases.' The workers of Borsod County adhere to the stand they have taken and demand immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. Soviet troops shall stop military operations at once and shall immediately begin withdrawing from our country. Only after this will there be order in the country. Only after this will Borsod County stop the strike. The entire working class of Borsod County sticks as faithfully to the primary demand as it did two days ago."

1450 "The fact that there have not been any large-scale disturbances of order in Miskolc and in Borsod County is primarily due to our good and honest working class, patriotic to the bone. Let us be proud of this. Let us continue to avoid disturbances of order. Let us help our worker guards in the maintenance of order, but let us also continue to seek by means of strike the immediate fulfillment of our demands.

"Signed: the Workers' Council of Borsod County and the students' parliament."

1453 "Dear Hungarian Premier [Nagy]. We inform you that yesterday the workers' council took power in Borsod County in every respect. The Army and police are under its control. Soviet troops are showing a neutral attitude and have not interfered in our affairs. The workers' council adopts as its own all your demands and stands for amnesty for all Hungarians who have participated in the revolution. Stalinist provocateurs who yesterday shot into the people have been reached by the just punishment of the people.



Free Europe Press

A Hungarian Army anti-tank gun used against Soviet tanks. It is standing before a motion picture theater. Signs from the theater have been placed on the gun. Roughly translated, they mean (from bottom to top): "Held over" (i.e. "The fight goes on"); "Only for those over sixteen"; "Box office will be open."

"Dear fighting Hungarian brothers. We are supporting your demands. We are fighting for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. We have contacted the Russian command . . . about this matter so that they can discuss the matter with their superior command at Moscow and leave the country at once. In the meantime, the Soviet Army is showing a passive attitude. . . .

"Signed: the Workers' Council of Borsod County."

### Radio Free Pecs

1615 "Workers, workers of the city of Pecs! The Army units in our town agree with those demands of the workers in the various plants which were broadcast by radio. We are also the sons of workers, of miners, peasants and intellectuals. We also know that the economic condition of our workers has not improved. On the contrary, it has constantly deteriorated. We know that the people—workers, and everyone—judge the policy of a government from the point of view of how the living standard was raised. . . ."

### Radio Free Györ

1747 ". . . in our opinion the fighting must cease immediately . . . in the interest of bringing this about . . . the State security authorities in the entire country must disband. The State Security Committee must be disarmed

and the arms taken over by the Hungarian People's [regular] Army.

"Secondly, the Party Central Committee and the government should take measures to see that the armed Soviet soldiers stationed in Hungary stop fighting and have the assurance of a free withdrawal from the country. The Party's county administrative committee supports the workers' power of Györ-Sopron County and its leading organization, the Provisional National Council of Györ-Sopron County, which in itself includes the workers' council, the soldiers' council, the peasants' council, the intellec-

tuals' council, and the youth council. This has nothing to do with counterrevolution but . . . only with national demands . . ."

1750 "People of the town and county should report police matters not to the national council but to the municipal police station . . ."

". . . The workers of the above-mentioned factory [Mosonmagyarovar] express their respect for and gratitude to the garrison of Györ which will always be remembered in Mosonmagyarovar. On October 26 it came to our rescue . . . and liberated our town . . ."

## Saturday, October 27, 1956 – Night

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1907 STATEMENT by Prof. Gyorgy Lukacs, Minister of Culture:

"The main task of the new government is to make a most radical break with this narrow-minded and petty [word unintelligible] trend and to make use of every sound initiative springing from all strata of the Hungarian people so that every true Hungarian can look upon the Socialist Hungarian fatherland as his own. The task of the Ministry of People's Culture itself is the realization of these principal aims in the field of culture. We do not want to bring it into Hungary as an imported article."

2000 "In Budapest the strength of armed groups has been broken. . . ."

2015 "The Ministry of Defense has issued the following communique:

"The town council of Baja called the Ministry of Defense this afternoon and asked for information about the following rumor: 'Misleading rumors have spread in Baja about Soviet troops being engaged in large-scale military operations in Budapest. Are these rumors true?'

"The Minister of Defense informs the inquirers that this rumor is not true. The bulk of the armed groups was liquidated by this morning. Military action [is now] confined only to a few nests. It is true that Soviet troops helped, and are helping, greatly in liquidating groups which have attacked the workers' power. In many places, however, insurgents trapped in larger buildings asked if they might lay down their arms before the Hungarian People's Army units. This request has been fulfilled.

"As military activities subside, the formations of the Hungarian Army are gradually taking over everywhere the task of maintaining order. If those few [armed groups] still resisting do not lay down their arms after being summoned by Hungarian Army units to do so, they will be completely liquidated."

2218 "The Minister of the Interior informs the people

that the curfew will remain in force tomorrow, October 28. However, the population will be given an opportunity to procure the most necessary foodstuffs. The ban on assembly will also be enforced during this time."

### Radio Budapest, in French to Europe

2300 Statement by Bela Kovacs, Minister of Agriculture, to the press:

"I consider the formation of a coalition government necessary in view of the fact that the Hungarian Workers' Party cannot conduct the affairs of the country alone. This circumstance necessitates the restoration of peace, order and calm.

"It is clear that the task of the new government will not consist only of the direction of the nation's affairs but also of the realization of the people's will. To achieve this, it is necessary that the people give evidence of discipline, condemn looting, and defend public property."

### Radio Free Györ

1910 "We shall give a short evaluation of today's events. The just fight of the people is progressing with long strides toward complete victory. . . . Yesterday, we were alone in broadcasting until the evening . . . when the people of Magyarovar won the radio station and Radio Mosonmagyarovar joined us. Thus we had two powerful radio stations from which to broadcast for Radio Free Györ . . . in the late afternoon we warmly welcomed the workers of the powerful Szombathely radio station who this afternoon joined us in transmitting our programs. We can therefore tell our listeners this evening that Radio Free Györ is transmitting, so to speak, to almost the entire Dunantul [Western Hungary]: to Györ, Komarom, Vas, and also Zala counties. We inform more than half the Dunantul about the situation and the achievements of the people's true fight. We can assume that in other Hungarian towns the situation today is similar. The people



United Press

A Soviet Army cannon which shortly before had been in action against Hungarian patriots burns fiercely in a Budapest street. In the background another Red Army vehicle burns. October 28.

have taken the direction of our future fate into their own hands. . . .

"We may surely say that there too [Budapest] the true battle of the nation will soon be won. Among the outstanding events of the day is the change in the behavior and the mood of Soviet troops all over the country. The Soviet soldiers who saw that here [in Györ] it is a question of a just fight for freedom by the people, declared: 'Do not hurt us and we shall not hurt you. We shall be glad to be able to return home at last.'"

### Radio Free Miskolc

2245 "The Hungarian people have lost confidence in some men in Imre Nagy's government. Soviet troops should stop fighting as soon as possible and leave Hungary. The people of Budapest want to shake off the Rakosi spirit.

"Workers, students, and soldiers, band together against the bad memories of recent times. The Gero-Rakosi line completely lost the people's confidence and, seeing that they were no longer the masters of the situation, they

called in Soviet troops. Blood has run in rivers and the bitterness of the people turned into a revolutionary rage. Should Russia again fling Hungarian liberty in the mud as it did in 1848?

"Hungarians, patriots, in the past few days something has been born which did not exist before. No, a thousand times no, say Miskolc, Pecs, Györ and all Borsod County. Hungarians, freedom has not been lost. Today Imre Nagy has the people's confidence. But is this enough? Guns are still shooting in Budapest. Can it be our wish that Soviet troops should take the arms from our freedom fighters? Hungarians do not want this to happen. The new government should not lean on foreign arms. Rather it should lean on the people; there is no need for foreign weapons.

"Hungarians do not want to kill Hungarians. The people have spoken their judgment with arms. Soviet troops should be sent home and no more Hungarian blood shed in Budapest. Imre Nagy should have the courage to get rid of those politicians who can only lean on weapons used for suppression of the people. No more Hungarian blood should be shed in this country. Soviet troops should leave without delay. Freedom, order and independence for this country."

## Sunday, October 28, 1956

*Local negotiations with Soviet troop commanders reported and in some cases Soviet forces join the insurgents. The government announces a cease-fire and Nagy states that Soviet troops will withdraw from Budapest immediately, and that the security police will be dissolved. He also promises that no participant in the fighting is to be punished.*

*An emergency committee, composed of Janos Kadar, Antal Apro, Karoly Kiss, Ferenc Munnich, Imre Nagy and Zoltan Szanto, assumes temporary leadership of the Party.*

*Spontaneous rise to power of revolutionary workers' councils and local national committees. A series of political and economic demands accompany this rise. The major ones include: withdrawal of Soviet troops, political and economic equality of relations between the USSR and Hungary, revision of the economy, greater democratization of life, changes in government organization and personnel, dissolution of the security police, protection of all those taking part in the revolution, withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, Hungarian neutrality, a call for free elections, free speech, press, assembly and worship.*

*The Patriotic People's Front announces that a countrywide Committee has been created to coordinate the activities of these various local national committees. The Budapest Chief of Police announces formation of Hungarian National Guard units.*

### — Morning

#### Radio Budapest, Home Service

##### 0400 REPORT from the Eighth District:

"A temporary national committee has been formed. It has started to organize a National Guard for maintaining order. Its members are being recruited from the Hungarian Army, the police, the workers, and the young workers. Workers' councils have been formed in the major plants of the district. They have already started work. The workers of the Kelenfoeld power station have done everything they can do to keep the capital supplied with electric current. They were unable to leave their place of work for three days and continued working in spite of the fact that they were without food."

Appeal by the chairman of the government Commission for Food Supplies, the Minister of Food Industry and the Minister of Produce Collection to all workers of the bakeries, the meat industry, and the dairies to go to their places of work this morning. Directions to employees of the *Kozert* (State food shops), the delicatessen shops, the tobacconists, the cooperative shops, and the restaurants to go to their places of work and start work immediately after free movement in the streets is allowed in the morning.

0500 "Budapest was quiet during the night. There were no armed clashes. Negotiations have started between the armed resistors and representatives of the Army at the request of the resistors."

0620 "Budapest was quiet yesterday and last night, apart from the activity of a few armed groups. At the Moscow Square point of fighting the Army negotiators have concluded a cease-fire agreement with the rebels after several preliminary talks last night. Concerning the conditions of

laying down arms, the rebels asked for time to consider until 0600 [GMT].

"In spite of the truce . . . the insurgents fired on Soviet patrols during the night. . . . Eight Soviet soldiers were wounded. In accordance with the truce agreement the Soviet soldiers did not return the fire."

0628 An announcement by the Minister of Defense and the Revolutionary Council of the University of Budapest calling on persons still putting up armed resistance to hand over their arms to units of the Hungarian People's Army which will arrive on the scene accompanied by members of the Revolutionary Council.

"The Minister of Defense guarantees that they may go free to join their families after handing over their arms. The Minister of Defense also guarantees the return to their units of any Army personnel. If they do not hand in their arms in spite of the amnesty . . . they must bear full responsibility for the consequences of further steps."

0800 Report from Ujpest, a suburb of Budapest. Points of the town which "have been in the hands of insurgents during the past few days were recaptured by armed workers' guards during the night."

1000 "Attention! Attention! A message to the resistants in the Kilian Barracks<sup>1</sup> and Corvin District [near the barracks]. This message is sent by two negotiators. We have transmitted your answer to the Commanders of the Soviet and Hungarian troops. They consider your conditions unacceptable. In their opinion the new Hungarian govern-

<sup>1</sup> The Kilian Barracks were under the command of General Maletter, who was made Defense Minister on November 3. This position became a focal point of resistance in Budapest.

ment, the list of which you read in the copy of *Szabad Nep* we left in your hands, represents the interests of the whole Hungarian people and will fulfill the most important demands that are contained by the 16 Points. This is also our conviction.

"Dear friends. You know us well, one of us was your physician, and we ask you with the good faith you always experienced on our part to believe us . . . and take our advice. . . . You will be granted full amnesty after laying down your weapons and you will then freely return to your homes.

"Dear friends. We request you to give a second thought to this appeal. Think of your families and of the civilians living in the houses across your line of resistance and listen to common sense.

"The deadline for the laying down of weapons will be transmitted by a loudspeaker atop a car. We request you to consider once more this appeal which was prompted by profound affection."

#### 1003 *Szabad Nep* editorial:

"We do not agree with those who summarily dismiss the events of the past few days as a counterrevolutionary Fascist attempt at a *coup d'etat*. . . . We must realize that a great national democratic movement has developed in our country. . . . This movement expressed the workers' claim to become genuine masters of the factories. This movement expressed the human claim of the peasantry to be freed from constant uncertainty of existence and unwarranted vexations, and to be able to live their lives as individual or collectivized peasants as they wish.

"The struggle waged by Communist and non-Party intellectuals for the freedom of constructive work and the moral purity of our system has strengthened this movement. It was love of country which gave this people's movement its greatest strength and fervor and rendered it willing to face even death.

"The demand for the equality and independence of the country is as all-embracing as the mother tongue we speak. It is an eternal shame that there were Communists in leading positions who did not understand the language of their own people. . . .

"This passion which carries away a whole nation only once in a century—this passion carried away Budapest's university and working class youth during the demonstrations on October 23. . . . We must find out what factors and people are responsible for the fact that this mighty patriotic demonstration was soiled by blood and became the beginning of the most horrible fratricidal war.

"Let us examine a few facts which may be helpful in assessing the situation. . . . On October 23, 150,000 to 200,000 Budapest youths, joined by a large number of older people, demonstrated for the fulfillment of just, democratic, and national demands. The demonstrators demanded among other things the revision of Soviet-Hungarian relations and their settlement on a basis of complete equality. Dissonant voices mixed with the demonstrators'. . . . These voices went beyond the limits of the struggle waged for Socialist democracy. . . .

"People were looking forward with great expectations to Erno Gero's radio address Tuesday night. The address, however, was a grave disappointment because it proved that, first, a number of the leaders at that time were unable and unwilling to understand the essential character of the demonstration; second, they could not and did not want to draw the proper concrete conclusions from the demonstration. By that time the atmosphere in the street was tense to the breaking point. Armed fighting started in various places in the city.

"It is important to point out that . . . demonstrators appeared before public buildings shouting such slogans as 'We want independence and freedom; we are not Fascists.' It is also true that looting, on a fairly small scale, was done only by those bad . . . elements who had wormed their way into the demonstrators' ranks. . . . In many places the articles were left untouched behind the broken shop windows.

"All this shows that it cannot be said that after the outbreak of the armed conflict, counterrevolutionaries fought on one side and units loyal to the regime on the other. The truth is that among the fighting insurgents there were in the beginning a very large number of honest patriots, including Communists. . . .

"The resolution which confirmed Erno Gero in his post of First Secretary poured oil on the fire, but Imre Nagy's statement, Erno Gero's dismissal, and the appointment of Janos Kadar as First Secretary, the declaration of the newly formed Central Committee and the inclusion of Zoltan Tildy, Bela Kovacs, Gyorgy Lukacs, and Antal Babits, met with the approval of a large part of the masses. . . . The armed conflict nonetheless continued, but on a lesser and subsiding scale, after Thursday afternoon. . . . One of the characteristics of the changed situation was the fact that the workers began to form workers' councils. They armed workers and militiamen who with the government forces took part in restoring order. We would, however, be distorting truth if we kept silent about the fact that bad elements also took part in the demonstration from the very beginning. These committed armed excesses, especially after the fighting started, and stood up against our People's Democracy. . . . One of the proofs . . . is that . . . a number of former Horthyite officers were captured.

" . . . In order to avoid bloodshed on a larger scale, we appeal with sober and calm words . . . to those misled and intoxicated elements who are still fighting, to cut themselves off from the counterrevolutionaries and lay down their arms. . . . This is the 12th hour for them to turn back from the road leading to counterrevolution. In Budapest the fighting is nearing its end. We must create order and calm. Every possibility is at hand for this, for the whole people desires it."

1100 Report on the food supply of Budapest: "The 228 bakeries in Budapest are all fully operating; as many as 150 trucks and several horse-drawn carts are carrying bread to all parts of the capital; the bakeries have supplies of flour and fuel for several weeks. The dairies are also

operating." Further reports that the milk, butter, cheese, meat, fat and tobacco supplies are also satisfactory.

## Radio Free Györ

0713 "The Soviet military commander of Györ has stated: 'We have no intention of interfering in your internal political affairs. I think that the rising of the Hungarian people against the oppressing leaders is justified.' . . .

"The commanding officer expressed gratitude to all those [in Györ] who even yesterday inquired about [the Soviet garrison's] material needs and gave 40 liters of milk for their children without having been asked to do so.

"He requests us to notify him of any violation of regulations [on the part of the Soviet soldiers] for transgressors can be severely punished. He mentioned that . . . a Soviet soldier was sentenced to 23 years' imprisonment for striking a child. Hearing of this severe punishment, even the mother of the child asked for leniency.

"In his farewell, the Soviet commanding officer . . . assured us once more that Soviet troops are not preparing for an attack of any kind because to them world peace is as important as the peace of Györ."

0730 Address to the nation's youth following announcement that the Budapest university students and young workers had set up the National Council of Free Revolutionary Hungarian Youth in Budapest:

"A . . . justified demand [of yours] which has been met is the formation of a national government composed of truly patriotic Hungarians. . . . The best Hungarian patriots are among the numbers of the government: Tildy, Kovacs, and Gyenes. The Party is headed by Kadar, who was sent to prison for courageous resistance to a tyranny alien to the Hungarian character."

### Appeal by the Vas County National Council:

"The Council is composed of representatives of the old coalition parties. It has assumed full control in the county, with authority over the police and Hungarian Army. The Council's first statement called upon the government in Budapest immediately to arrange a cease-fire on a reciprocal basis with the Soviet Command in Hungary. Further, the Hungarian government must secure from the Soviet government a declaration before world public opinion to the effect that the Soviet formations in Hungary will be fully and finally withdrawn from Hungarian territory no later than January 1, 1957.

"The National Council told the Budapest government in this memorandum that it will not recognize as genuinely national any government which assumes direction of the country without acceptance of these two points."

0740 "Workers' councils should be formed everywhere! . . . The tasks of the workers' council: it decides upon every question related to production, management, and care of the plant. In order to direct production the workers' council will elect five to 15 persons as a managing board to assist the permanent director of the plant; this board will decide upon questions concerning the management of the factory according to direct instructions of



United Press

Hungarian Red Cross workers carrying a red cross flag painted with human blood. The volunteers applied first aid and evacuated the wounded. October 28.

the workers' council. It hires and dismisses the workers of the plant. . . . The workers' council will decide upon the wage system best fitted for the plant, upon the plant's social and cultural provisions and upon the utilization of the investment funds and of the profit. It fixes the plan of work of the factory or mine. It is responsible to the whole body of workers. The main present task of the council is to guarantee order and discipline at work places and to start production. It must defend--with the help of all workers--their common livelihood, the factory. . . .

"Signed: The National Council of Trade Unions."

Summary of article in the *Györ-Sopronmegyei Hirlap* [new patriotic newspaper] on the tasks of the national councils:

"All over the country authentic workers' councils, peasants' councils, soldiers' councils, intellectuals' councils and youth councils are now set up. They are truly the people's councils, which have been and are formed without any outside pressure; they are a result of the people's freedom movement. After years of despotism and terror, in days of great historical significance, the people found itself in a time when new and newer needs arise from one moment to the next, when quick decisions are necessary, in order to guard during these days everything which is of value, and prepare for further developments. This is now the most important demand of the hour. The main task of the national councils [should be] in the first place the organization of defense so as to preserve everything of value, such as machines, granaries and other assets. . . . The life of the nation must not stop, our population must eat and all organs which supply necessary food must not stop, not even for one single moment. . . . Gas and water supply works must also continue. Our children must receive their daily milk. Councils must bring closer together the inhabitants of the city and villages. . . . If we can secure law and order then we will be able to say: Györ-Sopron was really reliable in those critical days!"

0751 "There is complete order at Komarom and Tata-banya [coal center near Tata, Northwest of Budapest]."

0910 Demand by the Györ-Sopron County National Defense Committee of the Hungarian Workers' [Communist] Party to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party and the newly formed government:

"1. They must dissolve the State security authorities both in Budapest and the country. They must disarm the State security agents and hand their arms to the Hungarian People's Army.

"2. They must insure that Soviet armed forces in Hungary cease fire and leave the country, being granted free departure.

"This is not a counterrevolution but the national movement of the Hungarian working people. The workers and peasants in Györ-Sopron County do not want the restoration of the power of manufacturers and landlords; the national revolution is not aimed at the restoration of the old regime.

"The government and Radio Budapest must give an answer to the demands forwarded to them by the Györ workers' delegation. The Budapest Radio must broadcast the news [of] the Györ revolutionary events. . . ."

0930 Report that a large shipment had arrived the previous day from the International Red Cross. A shipment of bandages and blood plasma from the United States was also received.

0950 "Two Italian newspapermen have arrived from Budapest. They said that the inhabitants of Budapest

fought very gallantly in the past few days. The security police has virtually ceased to exist. Security police agents are discarding their uniforms, they are hiding. The journalists related that they observed also that on some occasions Soviet tanks sided with insurgents. They said that at the Budapest city limits they were asked to identify themselves. When they said they were Italian journalists the Soviet soldiers cheered Garibaldi and wished them the best.

"In the October 27 issue of *Nepszava* the following appeared: Those Soviet soldiers who sided with the patriots must be pardoned and given political asylum."

1000 Report of demonstration in Szombathely.

\* \* \*

"Zalaegerszeg has not yet reported. Journalists of Zalaegerszeg, you know where Györ lies, you know how to find the Free Radio of Györ on your radio set. Please report!"

1115 From the Györ County National Council, a message to Budapest:

"In the name of the Dunantul, the Györ County National Council calls on Premier Imre Nagy to take further steps. He is summoned to issue instructions at the latest by 1900 [GMT] on the 28th of October, 1956, to stop the fighting. For the sake of the fulfillment of this demand he should request the commander-in-chief of the Soviet troops to cease fire. We transmit these demands by radio and we expect Imre Nagy's personal answer by 1900 hrs. at the latest."

## Sunday, October 28, 1956 – Afternoon

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1205 "IN ORDER TO stop further bloodshed and ensure peaceful progress, the government of the Hungarian People's Republic has ordered a general and immediate cease-fire. It instructs the armed forces to fire only if attacked."

1325 "The true reason for the dramatic events of late are the eight years of Stalinism in Hungary, the unrestricted raging of despotism which was then followed by relief. We said very often that in 1945 we had a chance to start real construction, to build up a free Hungary. Today we see clearly that we failed to make use of the chance which was offered to us . . . or, more accurately, we were not permitted to use the chance offered to us by fate. With a few exceptions nobody denies today that the great trouble and sorrow we had to endure was not entirely in vain, we also profited from the past eight years. So—one may ask—what was the actual reason for the warfare of the past days in Budapest? Delay, temporizing. The failure to understand the real, the actual situation as it was, the disregarding of the will of the people. . . ."

1403 "Radio Free Györ has just demanded dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and free secret elections."

1635 Report on this morning's meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' [Communist] Party:

"The Central Committee approves today's statement by the government of the Hungarian People's Republic. In view of the exceptional situation, the Central Committee transfers its mandate to lead the Party, received from the Third Party Congress, to a six-member Party Presidium, the president of which is Janos Kadar and its members Antal Apro, Karoly Kiss, Ferenc Munnich, Imre Nagy, and Zoltan Szanto. The mandate of the Party Presidium is valid until the Fourth Party Congress, which should be convened within the shortest possible time. In its work the Presidium relies on the Central Committee and the Politburo."

### Radio Free Györ

1230 "The Provisional National Council of Györ notes that Kossuth Radio [Radio Budapest] has not fulfilled its

duty of informing the people in these dramatic days. The Provisional National Council of Györ demands that the government turn over Kossuth Radio to the Hungarian writers so that the writers may inform the nation in accordance with the truth and the interests of the people."

1400 "Today in Györ and other places we are burying heroes and martyrs." A funeral oration follows.

1455 "The Szombathely unit of the Hungarian Writers' Union sends enthusiastic patriotic greetings to the Revolutionary Council and the workers' councils. It regards their problems as its own, since they also bear the writers' old desires and wishes. The writers also demand from the government that Soviet troops be recalled from Hungary and cessation of the compulsory teaching of Russian.

"Nothing can halt the victory of our cause now. Therefore, let the superfluous bloodshed end."

Report on the situation in Szombathely. Announcements that the workers of the car repair shop have decided to continue striking until the Russians leave Hungary; that two political prisoners were freed from the local jail and handed over to the repair workshop, which is providing them with full board; that the director of the oil refinery has been removed and the production personnel placed under the authority of the workers' council; that the workers will not produce any oil because they do not want Soviet tanks to be supplied with it.

1615 Message to the Hungarian youth by György Lukacs, Minister of Culture. He approves and supports their actions and demands.

1643 "Headed by T. Andras, a miner, the miners of Balinka [new coal town in Veszprém County west of Budapest] sent a delegation of seven to Radio Free Györ. . . . Their first demand is that Imre Nagy call on the Russian troops to begin their withdrawal from Hungary carrying white flags. . . . How do the miners regard the future? The future social system of Hungary should be decided by free elections. They do not object to the Communist Party standing with the other parties; the people will decide in which party it will put its confidence. The delegation, which represents 30,000 miners, will accept a government list agreed upon by the insurgents and in this case they would respect the cease-fire appeal. They demand that Imre Nagy give a guarantee that he is able and willing to lead the country out of the abyss.

"Until these demands are met the miners of Balinka and its district are not prepared to produce a single spadefull of coal.

"At the Balinka station 30 wagonloads of coal are standing ready and the moment a peace under the stated conditions is signed, this coal can be sent immediately to factories, plants and to the population which has suffered so many shortages. In case of such a peace the miners will immediately commence work and they promise that this work will be at a speed never achieved in any kind of [Socialist] competition. The miners are for order and discipline. They do not approve of irresponsible elements who wish to disrupt order. They trust in the soldiers who have joined us."

#### Message from the Army garrison in Györ:

"Workers of Györ: Dear friends: We, the soldiers of the Györ garrison, have backed your justified demands. We support them and are ready to give our lives for them. . . . Fight with us for an independent Hungary. Please support our call."

"The National Council of Komarom informs Hegyeshalom that the road is clear until Esztergom. According to information from Hegyeshalom, the Army and the members of the National Council are going back and forth to Vienna arranging for medical supplies. We call on everyone to keep the road clear for trucks and cars bringing relief."

#### Radio Free Miskolc

1740 "Attention! Attention! We have a message from the workers' councils and student parliament of Borsod County. An appeal to Hungarian workers' councils and freedom fighters! Debrecen, Szeged, Hatvan, Szekesfehervar, Pecs, Szombathely, Györ, Mosonmagyarovar, Szolnok, Nyiregyhaza and all workers' councils, freedom fighters and youth of the country!

"In the course of our several days' fight for freedom the joint demands of the entire country are slowly beginning to take shape. Therefore, we workers, students and armed forces under the leadership of the workers' council and student parliament of Miskolc submit the following proposal:

"1. We demand a new provisional government, one truly democratic, sovereign and independent, fighting for a free and Socialist Hungary, excluding all ministers who served in the Rakosi regime.

"2. Such a government can only be created through general and free elections. Since under the present conditions we cannot realize this, we propose that Imre Nagy form a provisional government containing only the most essential ministries. Ministries of related branches shall be combined. In the present situation there is absolutely no need for 22 ministries and three Deputy Premiers.

"3. The first act of this new independent provisional government, based on a coalition of the Hungarian Workers' [Communist] Party and the Patriotic People's Front, shall be the immediate recall of Soviet troops from our country, not to their bases but to their Fatherland, the Soviet Union.

"4. The new government shall include in its program, and carry out, the demands of all workers' councils and student parliaments of the country. These demands have already been made known in the press everywhere.

"5. The new State power shall have only two kinds of armed forces—the police and the regular Army. The State security authority is to be abolished.

"6. The abolition of martial law, and full amnesty after the withdrawal of Soviet troops for all freedom fighters and all patriots who have participated in the uprising in any way.

"7. General elections to be held within two months with the participation of several parties.

"Let us adopt a common position based on the above. This position appears so far to be shared by all and is by no means the same as that of the present government, which is relying on a foreign power.

"Let us seek every means of contact with one another in the interest of presenting our opinions, especially by means of radio.

"Pecs, Györ, Mosonmagyaróvar, Miskolc, Debrecen and Nyiregyháza and others are by now in possession of radio stations. Therefore it is possible to create adequate radio contacts. We suggest contact on 42 and 43 meters short-wave. Miskolc will signal on these wavelengths on every second, even-numbered hour.

"All of you, call on the Soviet troops, in Russian too,

not to fight for the suppression of the Hungarian people's legitimate struggle for freedom. We want to regard the Soviet Union as our friend but we want to be independent ourselves. We do not want to be at war with them.

"The troops of the Soviet Union were called into our Fatherland by the oppressor of the country, Gero, a Rakosi follower, with the lie that they must fight against counter-revolutionary bands, fascist mobs and common looters. By now they themselves and the entire world know that this is not true. For this reason we demand that Gero and his accomplices be called to account."

Report that in the afternoon talks had been conducted between the workers' council in Nyiregyháza and leaders of Soviet military units, with the result that the Russian units promised to withdraw from Nyiregyháza and not to station themselves in the town.

## Sunday, October 28, 1956 – Night

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

#### 1800 SPEECH by Premier Imre Nagy:

"During the course of the past few days bloody events have taken place with tragic rapidity. . . . During the course of one thousand years of history, destiny was not sparing in scourging our people and nation. But such a thing has never before afflicted our country.

"The government rejects the view of the formidable popular movement as a counterrevolution. Of course. . . . this movement was exploited by criminal. . . . and reactionary, counterrevolutionary elements. . . . with the aim of overthrowing the people's democratic regime.

"But it is also indisputable that in this movement a great national and democratic movement, embracing and unifying all our people, has developed. . . . The grave crimes committed during the historic period just past released this great movement. . . .

"The situation was further aggravated by the fact that, up to the very last, the leadership did not decide to break finally with its old and criminal policy. It is this above all which led us to this tragic fratricidal fight in which so many patriots died on both sides. . . .

"The [new] government wishes to rest in the first place on the support of the fighting Hungarian working class, but also of course on the entire working population of Hungary. We [will] work out a vast program. . . . to give satisfaction to the old and just demands of the workers: revision of norms and salaries, a rise in the lowest salaries and pensions. . . . and the implementation of higher family allowances.

"To help resolve the housing crisis, the government will support all State, cooperative, and private enterprise for construction. The government welcomes the initiative taken by workers for the extension of democracy in their enterprises, and approves the constitution of workers' councils. The government will firmly put an end to the serious illegalities committed in the collective farm movement and

the division of land. . . . The government will strongly support young workers, peasants and students, giving them the means of using their initiative in the framework of a cleaner public life. . . . The government supports those new organs of democratic self-government which the people have started and will strive to find a place for them in the administrative machinery. . . . New armed forces will be formed from units of the Army, of the police, and of the armed workers' and youth groups.

"The Hungarian government has come to an agreement with the Soviet government whereby Soviet forces shall withdraw immediately from Budapest and, simultaneously with the formation of our new Army, shall evacuate the city. The Hungarian government has started negotiations to settle relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union with regard to the withdrawal of Soviet forces stationed in Hungary. All this is in the spirit of Soviet-Hungarian friendship and the principle of the mutual equality and national independence of Socialist countries.

"After the re-establishment of order we shall organize a new and single State police force and we shall dissolve the organs of State security. No one who took part in the armed fighting need fear reprisals.

"The government shall propose to the National Assembly that the emblem of Kossuth shall again appear on our flags and that March 15 shall again be a national holiday. . . ."

1925 "The declaration made by Imre Nagy already rests on peace. . . . We cannot here go into details and will only emphasize its chief characteristics. . . . The fact is that at last we have a government which builds its program not on illusions and rigid dogma, but on the desires of the people."

1935 Statement by István Dobi, President of the Presidential Council:

"We will discard the economic policy which demanded

from our nation, from the present generation, terrible, sometimes unbearable, sacrifices in the interest of a distant future. . . . Our present generation wants to live a free and serene as well as human life. . . ."

1940 Statement by Sandor Ronai, Speaker of the National Assembly, that the Presidential Council has postponed the National Assembly session which was scheduled for October 29. Promise that the Presidential Council will soon fix a new date for the parliamentary session.

2010 "The new national government held its first Cabinet meeting this afternoon. Imre Nagy presided in the chair. Apart from the Council of Ministers, present were Istvan Dobi and Sandor Ronai. The Cabinet discussed the statement made by Imre Nagy on the political situation and approved the government's statement which he put forward.

"The Cabinet heard reports . . . concerning the organization of public supplies. There are temporary difficulties with regard to milk supplies. The Cabinet authorized the Committee of Public Supplies to take steps regarding supplies for children, schools, and hospitals.

"The Cabinet discussed the question of making good the damage caused by the armed conflict. It passed a decision about expediting the manufacture of glass in the country and about the import of window glass from abroad to replace windows broken during the armed conflict.

"At the suggestion of Zoltan Tildy, the Cabinet instructed the Minister of Agriculture to suspend the implementation of commassation and to make a proposal to revise the commassation decree.<sup>2</sup>

"In consideration of the just requests of small craftsmen, the Cabinet made a decision about the revision of the supply of raw materials for them. The Cabinet appointed a commission to revise the system of agricultural produce collection.

"The Cabinet instructed the Minister of Education to withdraw from circulation without delay all history textbooks. In other textbooks all passages impregnated with the spirit of the cult of personality must be rectified by the teachers in the course of study.

"The Foreign Minister and the chairman of the Public Supply Committee announced that material aid had been offered to Hungary by the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, the United States, Austria, several other States, and the Red Cross. The Cabinet gratefully accepted the offered aid."

2120 Report that rifle fire in Budapest is subsiding. Curfew regulations are eased. Gatherings are still prohibited.

2145 Appeal to all Patriotic People's Front committees to support the new national government's program.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the last of a series of decrees dealing with the redistribution of land. These decrees were introduced to facilitate the collectivization and make it possible for collectives to include the best land in a close geographic unit, leaving the individual peasants with strips often far removed from their homes.

2150 "The Hungarian National Committee has been formed today. Its task is to unite and coordinate the work of locally elected revolutionary councils and of the autonomous national committees."

2300 The National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] appeals to members to join the National Guard—"this is a provisional institution."

"The standpoint of SZOT is that working people must suffer no material loss on account of the tragic events. It suggests that wages for those days should be paid on the basis of average earnings. Those who worked or took part in the defense of their factories during these days should receive double wages. Wounded trade unionists and dependents of those killed should report for financial aid at their trade union center."

### Radio Free Miskolc

2025 Comment on Imre Nagy's speech over Radio Budapest. Quoting extensively from Nagy's speech, the commentary refers to Nagy's statement that very many patriots have fallen on both sides, and says that this is mistaken "because in the opinion of the people of Borsod County those students and workers who peacefully demonstrated for their legitimate demands were indeed Hungarian patriots, but it is an outrage to say this about the armed bandits of the security police who fired on the people. This is a serious defect in Nagy's speech.

"The government promises that it will rest on the strength and will of the people. The strength of the people will support the government only if it acts immediately to put into effect the just demands of the people."

Quoting Nagy's cease-fire order and his request for the laying down of arms, the commentary says that in Borsod County only those maintaining order and security carry arms, "and they will keep their arms as long as they are needed for this purpose. They interpret the cease-fire as meaning that they will answer shot for shot."

The commentary then quotes Nagy's statement on agreement with the Soviet command on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest.

"We are only partially satisfied with this report because the people of Borsod County want not only the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest but that they withdraw completely from Hungarian territory and go home. We find it regrettable that Nagy mentioned only Budapest. Talks on the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops are to start only later. Nagy said that they are to be conducted in the spirit of Hungarian-Soviet friendship. We entirely agree with the idea of Hungarian-Soviet friendship, but it is our opinion that these talks should have been started long ago.

"The workers' council fully agrees with abolition of the State security forces. In many respects the workers of Borsod County approved of the speech but they had some reservations. We have confidence in Imre Nagy. We stand behind him. We support him with all our force, hoping, however, that he will very soon make his promises concrete with action."

# Monday, October 29, 1956

*Szabad Nep answers the Soviet Pravda attack on the revolution and defends the Hungarian uprising.*

*Radio Free Miskolc calls for immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian soil, not merely their return to bases outside of Budapest. The Minister of Defense announces withdrawal of Soviet units from Budapest; Hungarian Army units are replacing them.*

*Heavy fighting continues in Budapest, particularly at Kilian (Maria Theresia) Barracks.*

## — Morning

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

0700 "A **N** EVER-INCREASING number of people are hurrying along the streets of Budapest to start work. . . . They see calm and order everywhere."

0900 Announcement that a workers' battalion has been formed in the Eleventh District of Budapest to restore order. A battalion squad was sent to rout snipers in Albertfalva, where the people said that "the declaration of the new national government" is a "guarantee that our young patriots did not die in vain. . . . Those, however, who are still shooting at random—and there are many instances of this in the Eleventh District—are besmirching the objectives of our great national struggle and are antagonizing the people."

0900 The Municipal Council orders streetcar and bus workers to report to their jobs as soon as possible.

1000 Review of a *Szabad Nep* editorial describing the establishment of workers' councils and revolutionary committees in county seats and towns throughout the country:

"In most places Communists who were popular, who sided with the people . . . and who acted with independence were elected to posts in these new organs. . . . Of course, it is not proper that in some places people have rejected [all] Communists and have made comments about them indiscriminately."

1000 Article by writer Ferenc Molnar who objects in *Szabad Nep* to *Pravda* [Moscow] editorial entitled "The Collapse of the Adventure Directed Against the Hungarian People." Molnar says that what happened in Budapest was not an "adventure" and that the result was not "collapse."

"The slogans of Socialist democracy—and not those of the reaction or the counterrevolution—were the loudest. The rebelling people of Pest and Buda want freedom and a life without . . . fear or terror. They want more bread and national independence. Is this what *Pravda* called an adventure? . . . Something really collapsed and that was the rule of the Rakosi-Gero clique."

1100 Announcement by the Ministries of Defense and Interior backing the new government and ordering soldiers and police to follow its instructions and to "show respect for the people" in carrying out their duties.

"Beginning today, members of the Army and the police shall . . . be called 'comrades-in-arms!' Until new badges are issued, ribbons with the national tricolor shall be worn on caps. . . . Glory to the heroes who have fallen in battle! Forward with the people for an independent, democratic and Socialist Hungary."

\* \* \*

Announcement by Minister of Interior Ferenc Munnich that he has begun to organize a "democratic police force," and that only those "who have proven themselves worthy by their attitude and behavior in the past" will be included: "I appeal to every honest Hungarian who wants peace . . . to support the police in their effort to restore order. . . ."

\* \* \*

Appeal by the Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian Intellectuals to the insurgents to help restore order by joining the National Guard:

"Nagy has satisfied the people's major demands by announcing the dissolution of the security police and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest. In vain did Gero slander the heroic insurgents as counterrevolutionaries and looters, in vain did he order the security police to commit mass murder, in vain did he call foreign troops to sit on our necks. . . . Hungarians, we can again stand proudly before the world. We have won the sympathy and support of progressive public opinion. . . . Fellow citizens, we have been promised that Soviet troops will withdraw. . . . From now on power will belong to the people. . . . Together we possess enough strength to create an independent, free and democratic life for ourselves."

The Committee then promises to prevent any attempts "at restoration—Stalinist or counterrevolutionary" and proposes that the government: immediately settle relations with the USSR on the basis of equality; abrogate disadvantageous foreign trade agreements and publish existing trade pacts, including those for uranium and bauxite; hold a general and secret election in which "the people are able to nominate candidates freely"; make factories and mines the "genuine property" of the workers by allowing freely-elected workers' councils to manage them; guarantee the operation of private craftsmen and retailers; abolish the ruthless norm system and raise pensions and wages; allow trade unions to become genuine representatives of the

workers and permit the peasantry to form their own organization to protect their interests; support individual farmers and a policy of voluntary collectivization and abolish the system of obligatory deliveries of agricultural production; compensate peasants who suffered through land commassations and other illegal measures; insure complete freedom of speech, press and assembly; and declare October 23, the first day of the rebellion, a national holiday.

### Radio Free Györ

0825 Commends the assistance of Army units liquidating the security police and reports that law and order prevail in the town of Sopron.

0915 "Our radio has several times repeated Premier Nagy's government announcement. . . . He promised that all just demands would be fulfilled. . . . Workers of many plants have announced that they will only start work when the demands have been fulfilled in reality. We agree with those who are holding to their demands but it is also possible to begin work . . . because a silent strike will only

add to our economic difficulties. We need industrial goods . . . and food. Today it is every patriot's duty to work."

1115 "Workers of the 62nd Car Enterprise in Tata demand that Lajos Bebrits be relieved as Minister of Communications because he abused the people's confidence."

\* \* \*

"We have learned that . . . Soviet troops have started to withdraw from the capital. . . . Troops leaving Budapest have already passed through Szekesfehervar. . . . Do not provoke Soviet troops during this move so that armed clashes are avoided."

\* \* \*

"A few minutes ago we received news . . . that traffic will resume between Kaposvar and Györ."

### Radio Free Miskolc

1100 "Attention! Attention! This is an appeal from the Debrecen hospital: We need . . . iron lungs urgently because the one we have is out of order. . . ."

## Monday, October 29, 1956—Afternoon

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1400 "THE EXECUTIVE committee of the Budapest City Council has decided to rename Stalin Street the Street of Hungarian Youth; from now on Stalin Bridge will be called Arpad Bridge and Stalin Square will be called Gyorgy Dozsa Square."

\* \* \*

"Fuel transportation began this morning. Some 300 or 400 loads of fuel are now at the disposal of the population. . . . Food workers made superhuman efforts during the past few days to insure food supplies to Budapest. Some 260 trucks are delivering foodstuffs to various parts of Budapest. . . . The delivery of mail was resumed in the capital this morning."

\* \* \*

"The National Trade Union Council has welcomed the proposal made by young workers to form their own organization."

\* \* \*

The committee establishing the new Militant Organization of Young Workers and Working Youth issues a communique urging young workers, technicians and intellectuals to join and help elect leaders "who know all our desires, problems and dreams and who are ready to fight with us for their realization."

1557 Announcement by the Minister of the Interior on the abolition of the security police and all police organs with "special rights."

"There will be no need for security police in our democratic public life. . . . Those who today are serving in our

police force . . . bear no responsibility for crimes committed in the past."

1557 "The Presidential Council of the People's Republic has accepted the resignation of Lajos Bebrits, Minister of Posts and Communications." Gyorgy Csanady, formerly Director of State Railways, was named to replace him.

1557 Resolution by the Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian Artists demanding that administrative officials be prevented from interfering in fine arts and that legal measures be adopted to guarantee full freedom to artists, patrons and art societies. Other guarantees should include freedom to travel, sell works of art and arrange exhibitions abroad.

1600 "The organization of the National Guard began in Kispest today. . . . In Pesterzsebet, many members of armed groups of young workers have volunteered for service. . . . Negotiations have also begun with representatives of armed groups of university students."

1617 "In accordance with an agreement reached with leaders of the Budapest resistance groups, the insurgents are beginning to hand over their arms to Hungarian troops relieving Soviet units. Within 24 hours after they hand over their arms, the withdrawal of Soviet units from Budapest will begin."

### Radio Free Györ

1215 "Attention Szombathely railwaymen! Attention postal workers. . . . Today we are informed . . . that Soviet units have begun to leave the capital and are marching to . . . Lake Balaton . . . towards their military base."

1238 "A four-member delegation representing professors and students [in Sopron] has arrived in Györ to present its demands. . . . Many of the demands of the Sopron students agree with the demands made by the trade unions and the Petofi Club . . . [but] they state that they do not agree with the present composition of parliament and the government . . . and do not believe them suitable [organs] for drawing up a new electoral law. They demand that a new parliament be formed from representatives of town and village national councils. . . . They demand a revision of our relations to the Soviet Union and full compensation for damages caused by our dependence on the Soviet Union. . . . They do not agree with Imre Nagy's address yesterday in which he announced that the security police would be disbanded. They demand from the government an announcement that the security police has already been dissolved."

1600 "The soldiers' council in Györ has learned . . . that there are soldiers in Dunantúl . . . who have broken away from their units and now do not know what their duty is. . . . All these servicemen are to report to the nearest Army command. . . . The Györ soldiers' council says that if they report they will not be called to account in any respect."

1625 Demand by a miners' delegation that the norm system be abolished in mines and that workers be assured a basic wage of 40 *forint* per day, and 30 percent extra for night work.

## Radio Free Miskolc

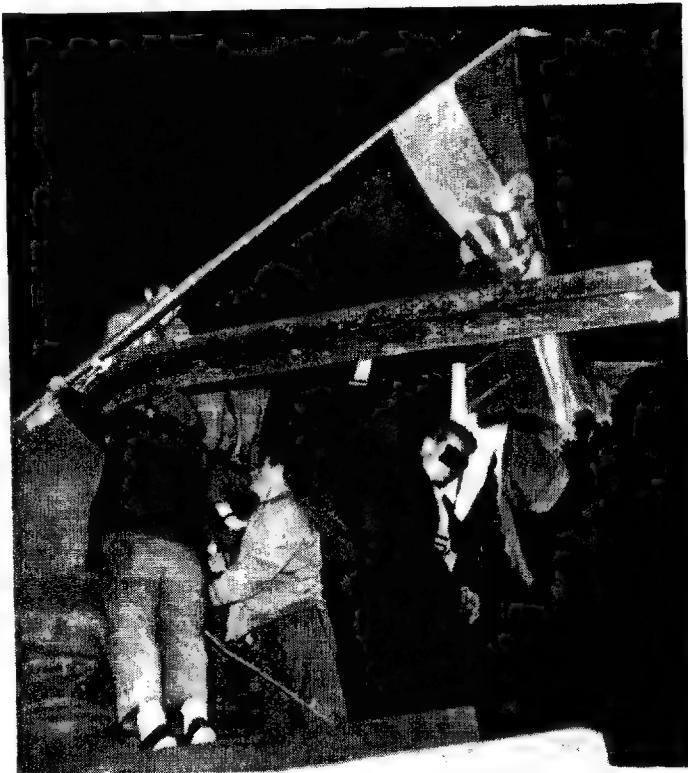
1230 A statement by the workers' council of the Lenin Foundry which claims that it did not intend to break the strike declared throughout Borsod County when it put its 180-ton hearth furnace into operation:

"We made this decision in the interests of the entire population of Miskolc. . . . The workers of the Steel Works assure the workers of Borsod County that they will do all they can to supply the hospital and other important institutions with the necessary electricity."

1300 The workers' council of Borsod County calls on all persons who possess weapons and who are not members of the National Guard to report to the Miskolc Bocskay Military Establishment and to enlist. "Those who do not want to participate . . . must turn in their weapons. . . ."

1300 "Many of you have asked about the time of the funeral for those innocent students and Miskolc citizens who were massacred by security police gangs. We wish to inform you that today funerals are taking place from 1100-1500 hrs. . . . Tomorrow funerals will begin at 1400."

1315 Communiqué by the Borsod workers' council and student parliament stating that "bloody fighting continues" and that "the fight for freedom has had increasing results." The communiqué agrees that Nagy's declaration has "many positive points" but disagrees with the composition of the government and demands that Soviet troops be withdrawn immediately—"not only from Budapest and not to their bases but from our country."



United Press

Budapest demonstrators insert Hungarian flag into the boots which are all that remain of the huge Stalin statue toppled from its pedestal during the fighting. October 28.

" . . . In several cities in the country, workers' councils, students and peasants who agree with our demands possess power and control armed forces. We are maintaining order and want to avoid disturbances. If disturbances occur they are caused, in every case, by the security police. Our effort to preserve order, however, does mean that we uphold the banner of the government. . . . In the present situation, we do not need . . . Rakosi-type ministers at all."

The Council states that Nagy should be Premier, Bela Kovacs the only Deputy Premier and that new ministers be appointed for Foreign Affairs, Defense, Internal Affairs, Finance, Foreign Trade, Health and Transport and Communications. It recommends the merger of a number of ministries and demands the immediate removal of Politburo members Antal Apro, Karoly Kiss and Zoltan Szantho, "who have forfeited the respect of the people."

"Fifty percent of the Party leadership consists of Rakosi's accomplices . . . All persons who were responsible for the development of the present situation must be called to account. All security police officers must be called to account. Every minute of delay will cost the lives of Hungarian freedom fighters. . . ."

1340 "Attention! Debrecen hospital! Munich has heard the broadcast . . . asking for iron lungs. Munich . . . is doing its utmost to forward . . . the lungs from Germany."

1420 "Since October 26th, there has been no end to funerals. . . . Rakosi! Gero! Other oppressors of the peo-

ple! Can you see the gravestones? . . . Answer! Because the people will find you wherever you are hiding. . . . We shall not be annihilated. . . . We have swept back the dirty tide

. . . which has brought you to the surface . . . and here, at the graves of Hungarian martyrs, we declare firmly that the day of liberty has come. . . ."

## Monday, October 29, 1956—Night

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1902 ANNOUNCEMENT THAT peace and order are gradually being restored in Debrecen.

1905 "In the morning factories started work and shops were reopened [but] . . . certain irresponsible elements and armed groups are threatening the restoration of normalcy and peace. Whoever continues to kindle the fire of a civil war, whoever has not had enough Hungarian bloodshed and whoever wants the roar of weapons instead of a ceasefire is harming the working class and the people and intends the overthrow of the people's democratic power. The government of Imre Nagy is a government of peace, creative work and national independence. Workers, compatriots, Communists, do not permit anyone to raise his arm against the power of the working class!"

2007 Appeal by the Trade Union Committee of the Csepel Iron and Steel Works<sup>1</sup> asking workers to report to their factory to elect workers' councils to decide all matters pertaining to production and economy. "We will do everything in our power to resume transportation and run fast trains."

2030 "Attention, attention. Tonight units of the Hungarian People's Army began to replace Soviet troops in the Eighth District of Budapest and they will insure the withdrawal of Soviet troops. At dawn Soviet troops will evacuate the territory agreed upon with the headquarters of the resistance; at 2000 [GMT] the insurgents will lay down their arms. The replacement and undisturbed withdrawal of Soviet troops are the prerequisites for the evacuation of Soviet troops from the capital. . . . I call upon all true patriots to support the Hungarian People's Army in carrying out this task successfully and to the satisfaction of the population of Budapest and the whole country—Lt. Gen. Karoly Janza, Minister of Defense."

2100 Decree issued by the Minister of Finance on wages to be paid for October 24-29:

"Workers of Budapest State enterprises who were unable to work because of the fighting are to be paid the average daily rates calculated on the basis of September earnings; workers of State enterprises and health institutions who

<sup>1</sup> The Csepel Iron and Steel Works constitute Hungary's largest industrial combine. Workers of the plant, which is situated on Csepel Island in Budapest, were among those who held out longest against the Soviets and were responsible for the destruction of a number of Soviet tanks.

worked during this period are to be paid double the normal pay and workers in offices and institutions will receive their normal monthly pay. Those workers who resumed work according to a resolution of a workers' council, or—where a workers' council was not yet formed—of a factory committee, will be paid the sums due them."

2100 Appeal by the Revolutionary Military Council of the Sandor Petofi Military Academy<sup>2</sup> expressing confidence in the government and calling on workers and youth to volunteer for the National Guard:

"The bloody events of the past few days have proved that we have remained faithful to our October 23 manifesto. Officers and soldiers of the Academy have supported the legitimate and just demands of workers and revolutionary youth."

\* \* \*

"The Szeged workers' council was today transformed into a people's council, [which] . . . talked with the local military administration and reached an agreement on lifting the curfew. For the time being . . . the ban on meetings will remain in force."

2300 Statement by the Hungarian frontier guards announcing their support of the "splendid struggle of the Hungarian people for the restoration of our national existence, freedom and independence. We assure the people that we are firmly guarding the true power of the people, order, and above all, the inviolability of Hungary's frontiers."

### Radio Free Györ

1800 "Russian troops have begun their withdrawal from Budapest. We call on the population and on freedom fighters to refrain from attacking them, for by doing so they will only delay peaceful settlement. . . ."

\* \* \*

"The Debrecen hospital has made a request to the free world for some kind of medicine but it was not possible to hear what kind they wanted."

1950 "Contrary to the announcements of Radio Budapest, we inform you that the people of Budapest are still fighting to obtain their freedom. . . . [At a meeting] attended by representatives of the workers' councils of Pecs, Dorog, Tokod, Tatabanya, Tata and Miskolc, we passed a

<sup>2</sup> Members of the Academy were among the first to march in the October 23 street demonstration.

resolution: we shall carry out our desire for immediate withdrawal of the Russians from the country with the help of one arm—that is, with a strike! The council vowed that they would not produce coal until the last Soviet division has left Hungary. The youth of Györ will not work until the last Soviet division has left Hungary. Now I speak to the youth of Györ. Support our strike until we have won. . . . Strike for an independent and free Hungary!"

### Radio Free Miskolc

2254 Statement by the Borsod workers' council that the people of Miskolc "should not listen to frightening rumors about Soviet troops. The actual situation is that in Felsozsolca and Goromboly, a small number of Soviet troops are waiting for military vehicles which have been delayed. . . ."

## Tuesday, October 30, 1956

*Nagy announces abolition of the one-party system, a return to the political conditions prevailing after 1945, and negotiations for immediate withdrawal of all Soviet forces from Hungary. A new coalition government is formed with Imre Nagy as Premier. Three non-Communists—Bela Kovacs, Zoltan Tildy and Ferenc Erdei—are included.*

*The recall of the Hungarian representative to the UN, Peter Kos, is announced.*

*Tildy calls for reconstituting the Smallholders' Party; Ferenc Erdei makes a similar appeal for the Peasant Party; and Kadar implies to Communist Party members that he agrees with both reconstitutions.*

*Cardinal Mindszenty is freed.*

*Hungarian Air Force threatens to bomb Soviet tanks unless they leave Budapest. Insurgents storm security police headquarters in Pest, and burn down Party headquarters in Buda. The security police appeals to the Writers' Union to intervene for its 10,000 members: they will surrender if guaranteed amnesty.*

### —Morning

#### Radio Budapest, Home Service

0533 "THE MINISTRY of the Interior states that at dawn there was peace all over the country. Although there still was some sporadic fighting, there were no riots or armed clashes. . . . Several foreign planes are expected to arrive in Budapest with blood plasma, medicines and foodstuffs."

0630 "As reported earlier, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest . . . is in progress. Units of the Hungarian Army, the police, armed workers and youth are taking over the job of maintaining order. At 0900 all fighting must cease and armed groups still resisting shall then participate in restoring peace and order. We will continue to inform you . . . about the withdrawal of Soviet troops."

0648 "The workers' council of the Aron Gabor Foundry and Machine Shops asks all workers to report to their jobs immediately."

0700 "The Management of the Hungarian State Railways says that train communications in the Budapest suburbs . . . will be resumed. The express to Csepel is already in operation."

0700 "The Revolutionary Committee of University Students requests that all organizations of university and college students as well as MEFESZ [new youth organization] send two delegates to the main building of the Roland Eotvos University to take part in discussions about forming a National Student Parliament."

0900 "The Budapest Party Committee has relieved Istvan Kovacs of his post as First Secretary and has elected Jozsef Kobol, member of the Politburo and Central Committee, to this position. . . ."

0900 Appeal by the Budapest Party Committee to all Communists to join the National Guard and restore peace.

1132 Announcement by the National Free Organization of Independent Craftsmen representing 90,000 artisans that the new government will "create conditions for fulfilling the demands of independent craftsmen."

"The organization has been reassured that two of the most urgent demands will be satisfied immediately—artisans' taxes will be reduced and they will receive the raw material necessary for continuing their work. Other demands will be discussed shortly by the government. These include . . . creation of a unified tax system, abolition of the tax artisans have to pay for employees, introduction of a tax allowance for children, tax exemptions for artisans over 65 who work without employees, simplification of the price system, and modification of laws unfair to craftsmen, as well as extension of sickness and old age insurance to cover every artisan."

### Radio Free Györ

0820 Statement that the Györ County National Council's appeal for a general strike does not apply to electricity, water and gas workers, or to workers in the food



United Press

Soviet tanks guard a Budapest intersection. October 28.

industries or industries directly concerned with production of consumer goods.

0905 Announcement by the Györ National Council that it will draw up a plan for payment of wages for the period October 24-29 in view of the fact that the decree issued on this subject by the Minister of Finance applies only to workers in Budapest.

1048 A request that Radio Györ and Radio Petöfi [presumably referring to Radio Budapest] consolidate their forces and transmit only broadcasts which further Hungarian national aims.

"These basic aims are stated in the resolution of the Revolutionary Committee of Intellectuals. . . . Broadcasts which do not correspond to the principles of the Committee and which, incite the people to further bloodshed . . . will be interrupted. We suggest that Györ Studio become the Free Petöfi Studio and that its programs be broadcast by Balatonszabadi, Szombathely, Györ and all other transmitters at our disposal. The broadcasts should not only deal with the problems of Györ but . . . should include all the demands of the workers' councils."

1100 "This is Radio Free Petöfi-Györ. . . . In support of the National Council of Györ, a press and information bureau has been formed. It is in the Town Hall in Room 26. . . ."

1100 An article on Imre Nagy published in *Egyetemi Ifjuság* [University Youth; a new publication], October 29th:

"On Tuesday . . . the entire crowd of 100,000 gathered in front of parliament demanded Imre Nagy. Not only this crowd . . . but all the Hungarian people felt that Imre Nagy was a man who would represent the people's interests. Since then, this confidence has weakened day by day. Today the entire population is by no means united behind Imre Nagy. People have been disappointed in him. This disappointment was caused by mistakes. Just as it was a mistake when Radio Free Europe broadcast the news that it was Imre Nagy who called in the Soviet troops.<sup>1</sup> The Soviet troops were called in by Andras Hegedus on Tuesday night. He said so himself to the writers' delegation. . . . Imre Nagy was fooled and outwitted by the treacherous Gero clique which gave orders in his name and behind his back. . . . He was not informed of the true state of the revolution. Then, when he learned the truth . . . he was isolated and not allowed to act. On Wednesday morning at 0500 the Writers' Union phoned Imre Nagy to ask him what measures he intended to take. It was only then that Imre Nagy learned that he was Premier. Only then, when the entire city had already been informed. It was impossible for him to have called in Soviet troops because, as everyone knows, they had already arrived. . . . The radio kept announcing in his name orders of which he knew nothing. . . . We have

<sup>1</sup> The announcement of the calling in of Soviet troops came immediately after the new government had been formed, and the request was attributed to this government. The West thus assumed that Nagy had been responsible.

been fooled. Just as we should have been fooled again had not the treacherous Gero clique been liquidated. . . . Now we shall find out whether Imre Nagy will fail us. . . . Yesterday, in his first speech, he freely announced that Soviet troops would be immediately withdrawn from Budapest. If he continues to act in this spirit, then we were right when we said that Imre Nagy was a true Hungarian, a man of our revolution. . . ."

## Radio Free Miskolc

0915 "This is Miskolc. . . . A communique [from the Borsod workers' council and student parliament] asking for a revision of the Warsaw Pact and protesting against the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary has been repeated twice. The communique explains that the Warsaw Pact was approved by Rakosi and Gero and therefore is no longer valid. One section states: . . . If we want to know who the leaders of this country were at the time the Warsaw Pact was concluded, we have only to read *Szabad Nep*, May 26, 1955. On the first page . . . is a huge photograph of the beaming faces of Rakosi, Gero and Hegedus. . . . On the basis of this we demand immediate revision of the Warsaw Pact. The leaders of those States which signed the Pact should be called together immediately and must express their opinion of the Hungarian situation. The attitude of the Soviet Union fully contradicts . . . the Warsaw Pact, and violates the sovereignty of the Hungarian people.

" . . . We denounce Andras Hegedus, Janos Boldocki and Istvan Bata who signed the Warsaw Pact. We read with amazement [in May 1955] that in the course of ratification Hegedus declared that the Pact corresponds with the principles of the UN Charter and with non-interference in the internal affairs of another country. . . . Hegedus also declared that if any of the States that signed the Pact were the object of armed aggression then . . . all other States must help the State attacked. . . . In the present situation the Soviet Union severely violated the Warsaw Pact and the UN Charter. It is not true that the present battle . . . was started by imperialists."

1000 "The Hungarian people ask the UN to refuse to receive Peter Kos, who is a traitor to his country, and not to listen to the declarations he delivers in the name of the former and present Hungarian governments. The Hungarian people ask the UN to intervene immediately in the interest of Hungary. . . . The Hungarian people also ask the UN to entrust Hungarian representation to a neutral State. For the time being, the Hungarian people cannot send a delegate to the UN because they cannot elect the government they want." [Rest of broadcast unintelligible.]

1100 "The following news has been sent to us from the village of Csaroda in Szatmar County:

"We people of Csaroda wish to report that since the night of October 23, the Soviet Army has been moving several formations into our country. According to latest announcements, Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Budapest. Why then are new Soviet troops necessary? We

demand immediate action which will prevent the entry of Soviet troops into our country and which will ensure their immediate withdrawal from Budapest. The government must inform the people of the truth; it must keep its promise. . . ."

## Radio Free Szombathely

0800 "We call upon the people of Szombathely . . . to express their wishes and demands . . . without any marching up and down. . . . We do not want the people . . . to be troubled by treacherous provocateurs in demonstrations where Hungarian blood may be shed. We call on the workers . . . to voice their demands in disciplined meetings in their work places. However, they must uphold the strike. . . . Radio Free Szombathely is fully independent—and separate from Radio Free Gyor. By means of Radio Szombathely, the County Vas National Committee transmits the uniform demands of the population to the Hungarian government. These demands are: bloodshed must be stopped. . . . Foreign troops must leave Budapest. . . . The government must take immediate measures to prevent the overwhelming numerical superiority of [Soviet] forces from crushing . . . our Hungarian brothers. . . . Hungarians see that [Soviet] soldiers have not yet left



Wide World

People of Magyarovar, including Hungarian soldiers who joined the resistance forces, stand around a grave for some of the 88 villagers who were killed before the insurgents took over the town.

Budapest, that they are still shooting and have not received orders to leave Budapest. . . . Nobody doubts that today, tomorrow or in a month the last [Soviet] tanks will roll over the corpses of our last fighting brothers. We are but a midget fighting a giant. . . . It was not Hungarians who fired the first gun. . . . How long does the government intend to wait before issuing a cease-fire and ordering the recall of foreign troops from the capital? . . . So long as these demands are not fulfilled, the working people of County Vas will maintain the strike. . . . We, the National Committee of County Vas . . . declare that we want a free,

independent, democratic and Socialist Hungary headed by the government of Imre Nagy. . . . We demand that Imre Nagy freely and independently exert power in the name of the people. . . ."

1047 "Teachers, students and workers of Szombathely demand the immediate departure of Soviet troops and their families. . . . Also, they passed a resolution demanding that all books written in the Stalinist and Rakosi spirit be immediately discarded from the school library."

## Tuesday, October 30, 1956—Afternoon

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1328 "PREMIER Imre Nagy and members of the government will now address the Hungarian nation. Here is Premier Nagy:

"Hungarian workers, peasants, intellectuals. As a result of the revolution . . . and the mighty movement of democratic forces our nation has reached the crossroads. The national government, acting in complete agreement with the Presidium of the Hungarian Workers' Party, has arrived at a decision vital to the nation's life. . . .

"In the interests of further democratization . . . the Cabinet has abolished the one-party system and has decided that we should return to a system of government based on the democratic cooperation of the coalition parties as they existed in 1945. In accordance with this decision, a new Cabinet has been set up within the national government. Its members are Imre Nagy, Zoltan Tildy, Bela Kovacs,<sup>2</sup> Ferenc Erdei,<sup>3</sup> Janos Kadar, Geza Losonczy<sup>4</sup> and persons to be nominated by the Social Democratic Party. The government will submit a proposal to the Presidential Council . . . to appoint Janos Kadar and Geza Losonczy Ministers of State.

"The national government appeals to the headquarters of the Soviet Command to begin the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest. At the same time we wish to inform the people of Hungary that we are going to request the Soviet Union to withdraw all Soviet troops from Hungary.

"In the name of the national government I wish to declare that we recognize all the autonomous democratic local authorities which were formed during the revolution, that we rely on them and want their support.

"Fellow Hungarians! To safeguard the achievements of the revolution we must first of all establish order. Fra-

tricidal war must stop immediately. Avoid all further disturbances! . . ."

"Minister of State Zoltan Tildy:

"The nation's will has been fulfilled and the national revolution has triumphed. . . . I stand before the microphone deeply moved. I have not written down my speech and therefore it may be disjointed. But I want to congratulate Hungarian youth from the bottom of my heart. . . . I declare before the Hungarian nation—before the whole world—that these young people and the soldiers and workers who fought with them are not only worthy of the youth of March 1848 but have surpassed March 15, 1848 by their heroic struggle and . . . their achievements. The least the Hungarian nation can do is to declare the day on which this struggle began a national holiday in memory of their heroic battles. . . . The national government will bury the heroes of the revolution with military honors and it will take generous care of the wounded and the families of those heroes who fell in battle.

"In this connection, I want to ask the representatives of fighting university youth to send their delegates to me at the parliament building. Premier Nagy will also await them. We shall charge them with an official mission: the formation of a National Guard Battalion to help restore order.

"I want to announce a few other measures. I inform the country that Peter Kos, former representative of Hungary at the UN, has been recalled and that a new UN delegation will be appointed which will represent the views of this government.

"I want to say, too, that [compulsory] crop deliveries . . . will be discontinued today. I am convinced that Hungary's farming population will provide more supplies for urban dwellers and workers from now on. . . . I also wish to say that all other justified demands of the peasantry will be carefully examined by the government.

"The radio too . . . will become the radio of the entire Hungarian nation. We shall see to it that those mistakes and errors in the past will never again be repeated.

"I am convinced that the people and leaders of the Soviet Union will see, once they negotiate with a free and not a humiliated nation, how different our relation-

<sup>2</sup> Bela Kovacs, former Secretary-General of the Independent Smallholders' Party, was arrested in 1947 and released from prison only recently.

<sup>3</sup> Ferenc Erdei, originally a member of the National Peasant Party, has held ministerial positions in successive Communist governments for the past eleven years.

<sup>4</sup> Geza Losonczy, a "national" Communist appointed Deputy Minister in 1947, was arrested in 1951 and recently freed and appointed editor of *Magyar Nemzet*.

ship is, how much greater the mutual understanding, respect and love.

"Hungarians! A grave responsibility rests with all of us. We must create a new national life. . . . Freedom is not threatened by force alone; it is also endangered by upheavals. . . . The government has acted correctly in deciding to abolish one-party rule in Hungary. We declare that the people of the country must decide the future of the nation freely and without interference. Free elections will be held and we are making preparations for them. The only danger to these elections would be our inability to restore internal order. . . . Peace is the guardian of our future and I appeal to every Hungarian . . . to feel this responsibility. . . . I ask university youth to help the country restore order. . . .

"Finally I wish to say a few words to the leaders of my own party . . . those leaders of the Independent Smallholders' Party who have been hardened in political fights and who are still in this country. I ask those men who were neither intimidated nor swayed from their convictions by despotism and violence and who still hold the country's independence dear . . . immediately to take in

hand the reorganization of the party in Budapest and the provinces. They must freely call Hungarians to their ranks. . . . We must establish a firm party organization as soon as possible and contribute to restoring order and safeguarding the nation's future."

"First Deputy Premier Ferenc Erdei:

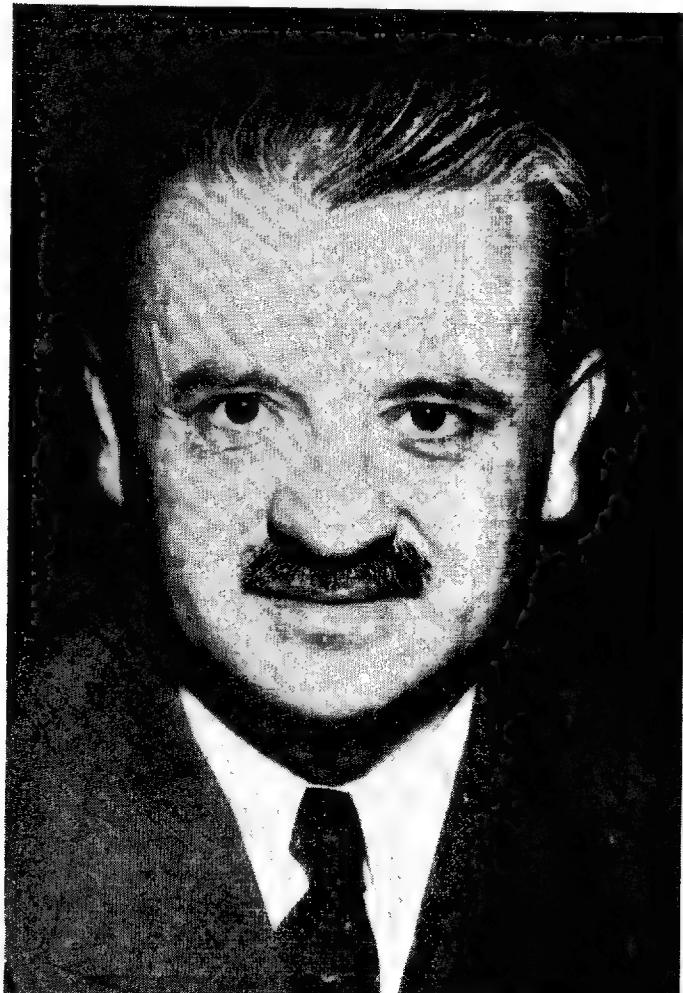
"We must now resolutely defend the achievements of the revolution from attempts by those who would like to turn back the clock. We must also defend the revolution from acts which would result in complete anarchy and destroy the vital accomplishments . . . of our people. We need all our democratic forces. For this reason, I call upon all my Peasant Party colleagues to contact all former members of the party, to re-establish its former organizations and to mobilize its former members . . . to help secure order. I call on them to cooperate with other coalition parties . . . oppose all forces which incite anarchy and defend and consolidate the revolution and democracy."

"Minister of State Janos Kadar:

"I want you to know that all the resolutions passed today by the Council of Ministers have been fully approved by the Presidium of the Hungarian Workers' Party and I want to add that I fully approve of all that was said by the speakers before me—Imre Nagy, Zoltan Tildy and Ferenc Erdei. . . . I speak to Communists, those Communists who were prompted by the progressive ideas of mankind and Socialism to join the Party. . . . Comrades . . . owing to the leadership of the past years our Party has been cast under a grave shadow. We must rid our Party of this burden, of all the accusations hurled at it. This must be done with a clear conscience and with . . . courageous resolve. The ranks of the Party will shake, but I am sure that no . . . honest, sincere Communist will leave the Party. Those who joined us for selfish personal reasons . . . will be the ones who leave. But having rid ourselves of this ballast and the burden of past crimes committed by certain persons in our leadership, we will fight . . . under more favorable conditions for our ideas, our people, and our country. I ask every Communist individually to set an example worthy of a man and a Communist by restoring order, beginning normal life, resuming work . . . and laying the foundations of an ordered life. Only by doing so can we earn the respect of our countrymen."

1328 "We now read a few bulletins: in Dombrad [near the Soviet border] the National Flag has been hoisted on the Council House, as well as a black flag in memory of the heroes of the revolution. . . . In Kisvarda [also near Soviet border] the population is demanding the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Hungary. Ever since Thursday, student demonstrations have taken place in Kisvarda but public order has not been disturbed. . . ."

1406 "Dear listeners, we are beginning a new chapter in the history of the Hungarian radio. For many years the radio has been an instrument of lies: it merely carried out orders. It lied day and night; it lied on all wave lengths.



Press Association

Zoltan Tildy

Not even at the hour of our country's rebirth did it cease its campaign of lies, but the struggle which . . . brought national freedom also freed our radio. Those who spoke those lies are no longer among the staff of the Hungarian radio, which will henceforth bear the name of Kossuth and Petofi. We who are now at the microphone are new men. We shall tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth."

1408 "Zoltan Tildy, Minister of State, has appealed to the former staff of *Kis Ujsag* [evening paper of the Smallholders' Party] to come to his office in the parliament building today so that *Kis Ujsag* may commence publication."

1420 "The Kossuth High School and the Aron Gabor High School today set up a Revolutionary Military Council. A message from the Council reads:

"We have established contact with the commander of the insurgents in the Kilian barracks and we announce that we agree with the program of insurgent youth, will fight with them for restoration of peace and order. We shall not permit bloodshed on the streets of Budapest. We demand that Soviet troops evacuate the territory of Budapest. We ask the commander of the insurgents to take appropriate steps for a cease-fire."

1449 "Attention, attention! We are interrupting our program for a very important message. Minister of State Zoltan Tildy told a workers' delegation that he thinks it important that Primate Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty return to his seat in Esztergom and, by taking up his activities as Primate of Hungary, take part . . . in the noble fight which counts on every true patriot in these historic times."

1530 Anonymous commentary:

"Every government pronouncement during the past few days has fallen short of the demands of the people. Each announcement was greeted by the man-in-the-street with the remark: 'Why didn't this come yesterday?' The statements by the leaders of the democratic parties have at last answered popular expectations: until free and democratic elections are held, power must be vested in the democratic coalition parties. There remains the justified and still valid demand that all those ministers who in the past failed to serve the people's interests be relieved of their posts. The latest pronouncements strengthen the belief that this will happen soon."

1534 Appeals for cooperation to insurgents who are still "mistrustfully keeping armed watch" on the ground that the fight has been decisively settled and the aims of the government and the insurgents are identical:

"We must not fear that the sinister past will return and that we shall lose the national independence for which we fought. . . . Mistrust must come to an end. We must bear in mind that the working class and the people want a Socialist people's power—and not capitalism or anarchy. Through a misunderstanding those who wait with arms in their hands for the Soviet troops to march out may be

suspected of being counterrevolutionaries. The working class is ill at ease and determined to prevent a possible counterrevolution. . . . Any further resistance will serve the cause of either a capitalist or a Stalinist restoration. We will not permit our achievements to be jeopardized. Most of the Soviet troops have already left Budapest. I have seen them go."

1655 Announcement of the establishment of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Hungarian People's Army which says that to defend the revolutionary victory Soviet troops must withdraw immediately from Budapest and the Hungarian people must support attempts to restore order.

"We have dismissed from command posts those sectarian forces which tried to turn back the clock. Major Generals Lajos Toth, Jeno Hazi and Ferenc Hidvegi and Lt. General Istvan Szabo have been removed. . . . The Revolutionary Military Council of the Army Command has decided to disarm immediately those security police formations still bearing weapons. . . . [We] appeal to frontier guards . . . to join the Army."

1730 "We are now going to read to you the order of the day issued by the Minister of Defense:

" . . . I have requested from the Command of the Soviet Armed Forces the immediate withdrawal of its troops from the territory of . . . Budapest. The commander of the Soviet troops having agreed, all Soviet troops stationed in Budapest will begin their withdrawal on October 30 at 1500 hours and, according to the plan, the withdrawal will be completed by dawn of October 31, 1956. Concurrent with the withdrawal of Soviet troops, units of the Hungarian People's Army and the police and National Guard will take over the maintenance of order—Karoly Janza, Minister of Defense."

## Radio Free Györ

1210 "A delegate of the Hungarian oil miners sent the following message:

" . . . We shall not produce one drop of oil for Soviet tanks. We shall not deliver oil until the government, and preferably Imre Nagy personally, tells us who receives the oil we produce. . . . If the answer is that the oil will be used for the freedom fighters and their vehicles, we must be convinced of the authenticity of this statement. [If no guarantee is given] . . . we shall immediately stop production of all oil wells in common agreement with the oil miners of Nagylengyel and Bazakerettye. . . ."

## Radio Free Miskolc

1645 "Slovaks, Romanians and Serbians, blood is flowing from our wounds and you are silent! We are fighting for liberty and you call us Fascists! Rakosi's colleagues, who were not Hungarians, but enemies of our country, said the same thing. . . . We see that you too are groaning under the yoke we wish to throw off; now foreign

interests want to incite you against us. We have every confidence that you will not believe their lies. . . . We have proposed a Socialist State form which will guarantee the free development of our people and stop the clash between East and West. We are fighting for you, too, for peace, for Socialist truth, for the guarantee of the free development of our peoples. Help us in our fight."

1700 Statement by the Szabolcs-Szatmar County Revolutionary Council:

"Hungarians, it is we who are nearest to Zahony [town at Soviet border] and it is our duty to alert you. This time we do not promise you a quiet night. No . . . the cease-fire is sincere only if the armies remain in position. After the cease-fire foreign troops advanced for two whole days. For two days they let their tanks loose on the freedom fighters. . . . The tanks are still here. But those Russian troops which were nearest the frontier have turned back."

They have departed. And so now we salute them, and this salute will be heard beyond our frontiers."

1715 "Just now it has been announced from Kisvarda that . . . many thousands of tanks . . . are pouring into our country. Motorized infantry is advancing to Nyiregyhaza. New Russian units! Marshal Zhukov, do you know of this? You must know. . . ."

1755 A four-point appeal by the National Air Defense Command to the Council of Ministers demanding the withdrawal of all Soviet forces from Budapest within 12 hours.

"Marshal Zhukov has given the order for withdrawal of Soviet troops. . . . In Zahony, the withdrawal of troops is being organized. . . . We ask the people to maintain discipline and help facilitate the untroubled withdrawal of troops."

## Tuesday, October 30, 1956 – Night

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1800 "THE FIRST Christian organization, the Association of Christian Youth, has been formed and calls on all young Hungarian Christians to join. Preserving the unity of all youth movements, the Association completely approves the demands of the Students' Revolutionary Council. The radio and press will give you further information regarding . . . the ACY's general meeting."

1800 "The national office of the Independent Smallholders' Party has resumed its activities in its former offices at No. 1 Semmelweis Street in Budapest."

1857 "At 1700 [GMT] negotiations started between Premier Imre Nagy and representatives of the armed insurgent forces, the National Revolutionary Committee, and the revolutionary intellectuals and youth. . . . The talks are progressing favorably. The proposals of the insurgents will be presented to the government by Premier Nagy."

1920 "Janos Kadar, Chairman of the Presidium of the Hungarian Workers' Party, declares that the reorganization of the Party has begun. In spirit, program, organizational structure and personnel . . . the Party will radically break with . . . the past. No one who bears any responsibility for the crimes of the past can be a Party member."

1930 A letter from Ferenc Erdei in answer to criticism that he should not have been the one to call for the reorganization of the National Peasant Party:

"I do not intend in any way to influence the reorganization of the National Peasant Party."

1930 Announcement that a new Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian actors has been formed and has joined the National Revolutionary Council of Intellectuals.

"It has also been decided that theaters will not be opened so long as there are Soviet soldiers in the country."

. . . We demand that a delegation representing the true interests of the Hungarian people should be sent to the UN immediately, that the security police should be completely disbanded . . . and that all persons responsible for the bloodshed should be tried in public."

1935 Radio Budapest comes on the air as "Radio Free Kossuth."

### Radio Free Kossuth

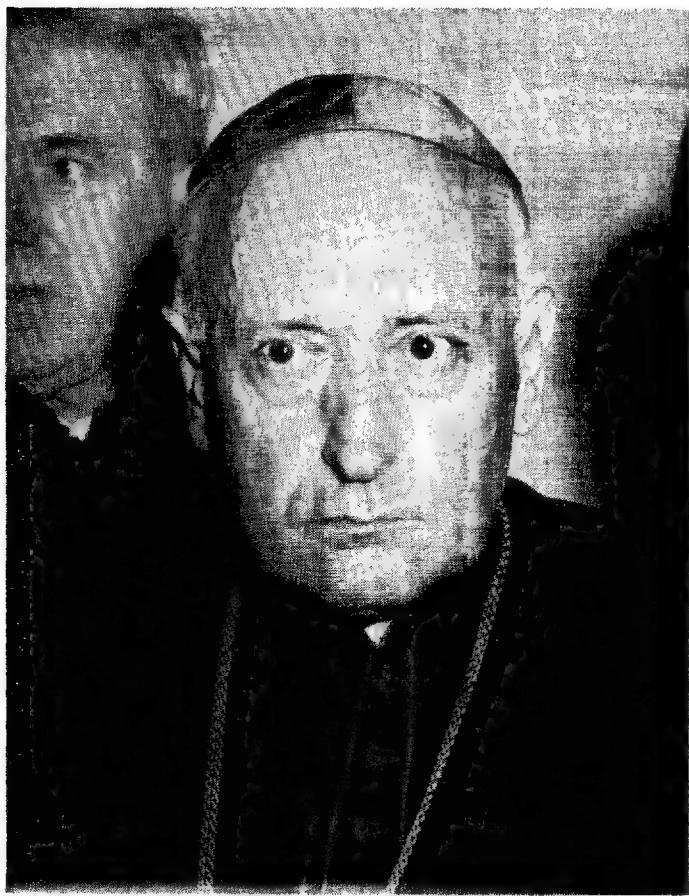
2133 "The Provisional Committee of the National Peasant Party began reorganizing the party this evening. *Szabad Szó*, the central organ of the National Peasant Party, will commence publication on October 31 and Pal Szabo [writer and former co-chairman of the Peasant Party] will be editor-in-chief."

2135 "Here is a message from the Matyas Barracks on Robert Karoly Boulevard:

" . . . We have elected a Revolutionary Military Council and inform every worker that the news broadcast by Radio Budapest . . . on October 24, alleging that the . . . barracks opposed the revolutionaries is not true. The truth is that [we] simply made arrangements for defending the barracks. We support the just demands of revolutionary youth. We are . . . ready to fight for national independence with the people. . . ."

2141 Statement by Imre Nagy acknowledging the formation of a "preparatory Committee of the Revolutionary Armed Forces representing those who took part in the revolutionary fighting, the Army, police and the workers and armed forces of youth. . . ."

"The task of the Committee will be to organize a new police force which will restore internal peace and create conditions for the implementation of the government programs proclaimed on October 28 and 30. The Committee . . . shall operate until a new government is formed by general and secret elections."



Wide World

Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty, Roman Catholic Primate of Hungary, October 31.

2300 Statement by the Revolutionary Council set up within the police force:

"We are proud that the police force in its entirety refused to fire at the heroic fighters for freedom and . . . supported their struggle. It has come to our knowledge that certain security police officers illegally acquired police uniforms. The Revolutionary Council condemns this and . . . will make every effort to unmask and arrest these men. Along with the insurgents, we have begun the immediate demobilization . . . of security police members. We guarantee to detain the criminals until they are brought before the courts. Today we have . . . taken into custody 30 security police members captured by the insurgents. . . ."

\* \* \*

"Representatives of the Social Democratic Party Anna Kethly, Gyula Kelemen and Jozsef Komuves have asked the Premier to return the party's old headquarters and the editorial offices of the party organ *Nepszava*. In answer to the Premier's request that the party participate in the new coalition government, the representatives of the Social Democratic Party have said that the question is up to the party and will be considered."

\* \* \*

"The Hungarian armored division at Esztergom has joined the armed insurgents and identifies itself with their objectives."

\* \* \*

"On Tuesday evening a workers' delegation from Csepel presented a 16-point resolution to Premier Nagy. The Premier confirmed statements made previously regarding the evacuation of Soviet troops, the dissolution of the security police, and the preparations for general elections by secret ballot. The delegates [also asked for] the education of youth according to religious and moral principles, freedom for private craftsmen and small traders and the abolition of [Communist] Party committees in industrial plants."

\* \* \*

Medical Workers' Trade Union resolution calling for the removal of Rakosiist leaders from the trade union and government and demanding that the management of health services be placed in the hands of physicians, specialists and pharmacists.

### Radio Free Kossuth, in French to Europe

2300 "At 2105 this evening a Retsag [Nograd County] unit of the Army liberated Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty . . . from his prison at Felsopeteny where he has spent the past year. His eight years of incarceration have come to an end. . . . The people of Retsag were the first to greet the Primate. . . . Cardinal Mindszenty said: 'My sons, I shall carry on where I left off eight years ago.' The Primate spent twenty minutes at the Retsag rectory . . . and then left for his home in Buda."

\* \* \*

Review of the situation in the provinces:

Miskolc: Report that Imre Nagy's broadcasts have been favorably received; that a Smallholders' Party meeting is scheduled for evening; that the party's organ *Miskolci Hirlap* will commence publication on Thursday. "The people of Miskolc have decided not to lay down their arms so long as Soviet troops are on Hungarian soil."

Gyor: Report that unrest has increased in the past few days; that demonstrations took place at which many people demanded a new government; that one of the meetings was held at the Wagon Works, where the atmosphere was tense. "A messenger arrived announcing that an inner Cabinet had been formed . . . . Then he read the government declarations." Comment that this news and the recall of Kos were favorably received.

Kapsovar: News that a Revolutionary Council has assumed power and that it has begun preparations for elections. "The local commander of the State security organs has been arrested. A new newspaper called *Szabad [Free] Somogy* will be published."

Tatabanya Mining Center: Report that soldiers' and workers' council has addressed an appeal to the government stating that if Soviet troops do not respect the agreement on evacuation the government must immediately lodge a protest with the UN.

Szeged: "Order is gradually being restored. . . . The demobilization of the security police is proceeding simultaneously with the organization of the National Guard. The Revolutionary People's Council has set up a strike committee. University leaders have expressed their agreement with Imre Nagy's broadcast but have reservations about the presence of former Stalinists in the government."

Szombathely: "It is reported that factories in Vas County will resume work only when the government meets the demands of the National Committee."

In other provinces similar demands and statements were made.

\* \* \*

"The provisional Revolutionary Council of the National Bank has relieved President of the Bank Laszlo Hay—a typical representative of the Rakosi-Stalin era—from his post. Imre Nagy . . . approved this action."

### Radio Free Kossuth, to Diplomatic Missions

1709 The Revolutionary Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issues a declaration in support of the revolution. It condemns the "unwarranted interference of Soviet troops," and demands that those responsible for the bloodshed be brought to account. It repudiates the declaration made by UN representative Peter Kos, and demands his immediate recall as well as the recall of members of the Foreign Ministry abroad who opposed the peoples' inter-

ests. In conclusion, the Committee calls on Foreign Ministry employees to participate in the restoration of order and to report to their offices on Wednesday.

### Radio [Free] Rajk, Location Unknown

2000 "Comrades. Peace is gradually returning to our country. But those base villains who have caused this bloodshed cannot escape their punishment. We will deal with the lies we have heard on Radio Budapest, which we read in some of the papers and which were believed in Moscow. . . . In the UN Security Council the Soviet delegate called the Hungarian revolutionaries Fascists and counterrevolutionaries. . . ." [Rest unintelligible.]

### Radio Free Miskolc

2105 Miklos Fodor, speaking for the Borsod County Council, states:

"It is a miracle that our country still exists. Only a few hours ago we heard the joyful news: today . . . the Soviet commander himself ordered his troops to start their immediate withdrawal from our country. This means that our glorious freedom fight is ended. The loss of Hungarian blood was not in vain. . . . Joyous days are ahead. Put aside ideas of revenge. . . . Rejoice! Thank our liberating God! Let us pray!"

## Wednesday, October 31, 1956

*Radio Free Kossuth broadcasts Soviet declaration concerning changes in relations between USSR and Satellite States.*

*Ministry of Agriculture announces suspension of compulsory deliveries of farm produce.*

*Cardinal Mindszenty arrives in Budapest.*

*Independent Smallholders' Party announces formation of a new executive committee and resumes control of its former newspaper, Kis Ujsag. Hungarian Social Democratic Party is reorganized in Budapest, with Anna Kethly as president, and Nepszava as its official publication.*

*Pal Maleter replaces Lajos Toth as First Deputy Defense Minister and Istvan Kovacs takes Toth's former job as Army Chief of Staff.*

*Nagy announces that the Hungarian government is prepared to leave the Warsaw Pact and has asked for negotiations on withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary.*

*A Trans-Danubian National Council is organized out of various area councils. It requests immediate evacuation of Soviet forces, repudiation of the Warsaw Pact, free elections, a declaration of Hungary's neutrality, and freedom of speech, press, assembly and worship.*

### — Morning

#### Radio Free Kossuth

0105 **R**ESOLUTION of the National Air Defense Command calling for immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. "Failing this, the air forces of the People's Army will take action in support of this demand of all Hungarian workers."

0337 Reading of a Soviet declaration of previous day concerning contemplation of new economic and military relations of USSR with other "Socialist" countries.

Revolutionary Council of Budapest Cement Factory demands that Nagy dismiss members of government who served in past.

Report that Social Democratic Party headquarters is functioning and the National Peasant Party will meet at 1400 hrs.

0455 Notice that postal services are to be resumed during the day.

0500 Announcement by the Ministry of Ingathering that compulsory deliveries have been discontinued. However, "supplies for the non-agricultural population will continue. This problem must be worked out . . . on the principle of voluntarism. . . ."

0700 "Last night Budapest was relatively calm. Only a few shots could be heard here and there. . . . Soviet troops left . . . early this morning."

News that transportation is still paralyzed in most of the country.

Announcement that following a proposal of the Revolutionary Military Council the Minister of Defense has ordered changes in the army uniform, effective that day. Insignia on hats to be replaced with the Kossuth crest.

0745 ". . . The proceedings instituted in 1948 against Jozsef Mindszenty, Cardinal Primate, lacked all legal basis and . . . the accusations leveled against him . . . were unjustified. In consequence . . . the Cardinal can exercise, without any restrictions, all his civil and ecclesiastical rights.

"Signed: Imre Nagy, Premier."

0808 The radio withdraws its statement of 0700 that Soviet troops had left:

"We have been informed that Soviet tanks are still in front of the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of the Interior and the Soviet Embassy, and this list is certainly incomplete. The Ministry of Defense has now confirmed . . . that during the morning the Soviet tank units still in Budapest will leave. The Ministry . . . requests the population . . . not to hinder the smooth withdrawal of Soviet troops. . . ."



The bodies of some of the 88 Hungarian students and workers shot down by the security police on October 27 lie in a room in Magyarvar. A mass burial was held for the victims on October 28.

0818 Description by Zoltan Zelk of a visit he and two other writers made to government leaders on the night of October 24 to present the demands of the Writers' Union that "they [the government] should hand over power to those who enjoyed the affection of the people and not order firing upon the people."

"For a second we saw Istvan Kovacs<sup>1</sup> and Jozsef Revai<sup>2</sup> emerge with frightened faces as we entered a small room where we continued waiting. Finally we were admitted to the room of Andras Hegedus. He lyingly said that a Fascist counterrevolution had broken out which they would quell by arms and, if they should not be strong enough to do it, they would call in Soviet troops. . . . He said this smilingly, as someone who had already thought out a devilish plan. . . . But we could not see Imre Nagy. . . . He was then truly a prisoner. We only saw his son-in-law, Ferenc Janosi . . . hanging about, lonely and haggard, in the waiting room. . . ."

0900 "Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty, Prince Primate, who was liberated on Tuesday by our victorious revolution, arrived at his residence in Buda at 0755 this morning."

News that the Social Democratic Party is to be represented at the conference of the Socialist International in Vienna on November 1, with Anna Kethly as its delegate.

Commentary that newspapers appearing on the streets now include *Magyar Fuggetlenseg* [Hungarian Independence], organ of the Hungarian National Revolutionary Committee, and *Magyar Nemzet*. The latter reports that the Smallholders' Party in Budapest has formed a provisional Executive Committee, supporting Bela Kovacs. Members are: Jozsef Adorjan, Janos Csorba, Jozsef Kovago, Imre Nemeth, Tivadar Tarczai, Istvan Rath, Istvan Szabo and Jozsef Szemes.

Report that *Nepszava* had said the previous night that the National Council of Trade Unions had changed its name to National Council of Hungarian Free Trade Unions.

0925 Address by Sandor Kiss, Director of the Peasant Federation:<sup>3</sup> "You must build up one great historical party . . . you must build up the Hungarian Peasant Federation. The suppressed but now revived Hungarian Peasant Federation requests this from the two coalition peasant parties, from the Independent Smallholders' Party and from the National Peasant Party. Talks have begun. . . ."

0945 Report of the delegation from the National Committee of Szolnok [seat of Szolnok County]: "We have talked with Imre Nagy and Janos Kadar. The Premier requested the workers . . . to resume work. . . . We replied that the people of Szolnok are resolved to work only if the Soviet troops leave the vicinity of the town. . . . Imre Nagy said that as far as he knew the Soviet troops would leave not only Budapest but Szolnok today. . . . The dele-

<sup>1</sup> Istvan Kovacs was formerly First Secretary of the Communist Party in Budapest.

<sup>2</sup> Jozsef Revai was Minister of Education 1949-1953; in June 1953 "resigned" from Politburo to become Deputy Chairman of the Presidium. Reappointed to Politburo by Gero regime in July 1956.

<sup>3</sup> Kiss headed the Peasant Federation before the Communists took power. It was then a nonpolitical organization representing peasant interests.



Wide World

Resistance forces check pedestrians at a highway crossing near Gyor on October 28.

gation was told that measures had been taken to free political prisoners.

0955 Proclamation of the Representatives of the Revolutionary Forces and the Revolutionary Council of the People's Army:

"1. We demand that after evacuating the territory of Budapest, Soviet armed forces also evacuate the entire territory of Hungary. The members of the undersigned committee are well aware of the necessity for diplomatic relations, but they will not agree to the use of such relations as an excuse for an indefinite stay of Soviet forces in the country.

"2. We demand from the government the immediate termination of the Warsaw Pact, by informing the members of that Pact.

"3. The delegates of the Hungarian Revolutionary Youth Committee, together with the delegates of the Revolutionary Council of the People's Army, demand that Soviet forces evacuate the territory of Hungary by December 31, 1956. If this does not take place, we shall take up arms and fight for the freedom of our country and the pure

cause of the revolution, taking our oath that as long as foreign weapons endanger our country we shall fight for that country and thereby risk our lives and our security.

"4. We announce that we shall take up arms and fight against any foreign or internal enemy who may cross our borders and endanger our independence.

"5. We demand that, if necessary, the Hungarian People's Army, with the help of the Revolutionary Forces, take over the uranium ore quarries in Hungary.

"6. Anyone who breaks the discipline of the Revolutionary Forces and who does not carry out the orders of his commander damages the cause of revolution. He must be brought before a revolutionary court.

"7. The representatives of the Revolutionary Forces, together with the elected Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian Army Unity, form the Revolutionary Committee of the Hungarian Army Forces. This Revolutionary Committee is the supreme commanding organ of the Army. It has been agreed that for the sake of public security, order and peace, the Armed Revolutionary Youth will maintain order in cooperation with the Revolutionary Committee of the

Armed Forces and with the police. They will jointly arrest and turn over to the independent justice of Hungary criminals and elements that are alien to the people. We approve of the disbanding of the security police, and demand that no member of the security police become a member of armed or police units.

"Signed: Representatives of the Revolutionary Forces and the Revolutionary Council of the People's Army, Budapest, October 31, 1956."

**1010** Announcement that Soviet tanks are still standing in front of the parliament building and appeal to the Minister of Defense to demand that the Soviet forces leave.

**1100** "TASS reports from Moscow that the Soviet government has instructed its military command to withdraw military formations from Budapest as soon as the Hungarian government considers it appropriate. At the same time, the Soviet government is ready to enter into negotiations with the government of the Hungarian People's Republic and with other governments which are party to the Warsaw Pact on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary as well...."

Summary of a report in *Igazsag*, paper of the Revolutionary Hungarian Army and Youth:

"The reporter said that Soviet troops were already called in and martial law announced when Imre Nagy became president of the Council. Thus he was faced with a *fait accompli*. . . . Even on Friday the Gero-Hegedus clique wanted to force Imre Nagy to sign a pre-dated letter calling on Soviet troops to help crush the rebellion. Of course, Imre Nagy would not sign this letter."

\* \* \*

A proclamation of the Army Officers' Cadet School demanding that the Army "should at last be an independent national Army free from the influence of any political party or trend."

\* \* \*

"Attention, attention! We have just been informed by the . . . Ministry of Defense that the Soviet tanks which had encircled the Ministry left a few minutes ago."

## Radio Free Miskolc

**0920** "This is the radio of the Borsod workers' council. What is happening in our agricultural collectives? Our basic principle is that . . . only those should remain in which the production balance is favorable, and in which the members favor their further existence. . . . Secondly, the liquidation of collectives can be carried out only gradually. . . . Thirdly, small peasant farms must be established from the farmlands of liquidated cooperatives. . . . Fourthly, the constitution of the remaining cooperatives, their norms, and their evaluation of work must be changed, to make the shares more just. . . . Our machine tractor stations [MTS] must be transformed into associations for the use of the machines and into machine repair stations."

**1010** Announcement from the Szabolcs and Szatmar

workers' councils [in Szabolcs-Szatmar County] to "students of Rome, people of Switzerland, America, Britain, West Germany and people of the entire Free World":

"Now, when our nation is starting on the path of national revival . . . we cannot forget the immeasurable help with which our fight has been supported by our friends who live abroad. We well know what it meant to side with the cause of Hungarian freedom in the field of international diplomacy, press or radio, we well know the immense moral and material value of the solidarity of the free countries, their financial help and their shipments of medicines and food. We know and shall never forget that the free world did not abandon us, but sided with us and hurried to help us. We shall not be unworthy of this help. We shall build up an independent and free Hungary. We shall also create freedom of conscience, a life without fear and a life without slavery. We shall create a life that recognizes only one command: never to forget why Hungary has reached out for arms."

## Radio Free Györ

**0715** "Dear listeners, the national councils have discussed their problems at Györ and have come to the conclusion that owing to the still unsatisfactory measures of the government one cannot yet regard the immediate execution of the demands of the revolutionaries as secured. After consultations lasting until midnight the following decisions were taken:

"1. The deputies of the Trans-Danubian Assembly at Györ have formed, on October 30, 1956, the Trans-Danubian National Council. The seat of the Council is Györ. The . . . Council completely identifies itself with the freedom struggle in all its details.

"2. At the . . . Council the national councils of the affiliated counties are represented with four, and the affiliated cities with two, deputies each.

"3. The . . . Council will make its own plans and working rules.

"4. The . . . Council asks the other national councils to join with it and states that the National Council of Borsod County and the National Councils of Bacs-Kiskun County and the workers' council of Csepel Island have already joined.

"5. The . . . Council has decided to begin within 24 hours negotiations with the government for the fulfillment of the nation's demands.

"6. The . . . Council demands reliable guarantees for the fulfillment of promises regarding the people's demands, especially the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

"7. The . . . Council recognizes that the military units stationed in Papa, Györ, Tata and Zalaegerszeg<sup>4</sup> have declared that they will defend the people against any attack, if necessary despite higher orders. The . . . Council considers it essential to establish a uniform military command.

<sup>4</sup> Papa is a town in Veszprém County, Tata is a town in Komárom County and Zalaegerszeg is the seat of Zala County.

"8. The government must call general, secret elections with the participation of several parties by the end of January 1957 at the latest.

"9. Local armed forces are to be organized under the . . . Council.

"10. Until a National Assembly is convoked, officers of the rank of Colonel or above will be appointed subject to the consent of the National Council still to be formed.

"11. The . . . Council considers changes in the government necessary, and will negotiate for adequate representation of freedom fighters in the government.

"12. Hungary shall issue a declaration of neutrality. . . .

"13. Freedom of speech, of the press and of religion must be guaranteed.

"14. Should the government not comply with these demands, the Trans-Danubian National Council will not recognize it even tentatively. The strike will be continued in any case. The Trans-Danubian National Council is establishing contact with the Budapest National Council in order to bring about the formation of a new government. For this purpose, a delegation of the . . . Council will go to Imre Nagy immediately."

0730 Announcement that students and school children in Sopron are beginning to collect nonperishable food and clothing, with urging that the population of Sopron contribute.

## Wednesday, October 31, 1956—Afternoon

### Radio Free Kossuth

1225 "A FEW MINUTES ago the cupola of the house of parliament was covered with a red, white and green flag. At the request of the nation we hoisted this National Flag."

1237 Report from *Magyar Honved*, the new Army paper, on the freeing of Cardinal Mindszenty:

"On Tuesday evening at 1900 [GMT] four officers and a driver received information at the barracks of Retsag that security policemen were guarding Primate Mindszenty in a room of the mansion house at Felsopeteny. The . . . officers drove immediately to Felsopeteny, disarmed the 14 men who were guarding the Primate, and drove him to the barracks in Retsag. The Primate was immensely glad . . . and wanted to travel to Budapest that very night. Because the road seemed unsafe, the Primate was brought to Budapest in the morning, between 0500 and 0515, in an armored car guarded by four tanks. In all the villages they passed the people threw flowers to the Primate and the soldiers. . . . In Buda he is, at the moment, receiving various delegations, and 15 minutes ago he gave his first press interview to the correspondent of *Magyar Honved*:

"I admire what the weapons of the youth, the soldiers, the university students, the villagers, the peasants and the workers accomplished. After eight years of imprisonment, they tore open the door of my prison. These brave officers of Retsag cared for nothing, they came to the house where I was imprisoned and took me along with them. I rested in the barracks. I send my pontifical blessing to the Hungarian arms. I wish the glory acquired by Hungarian arms to be multiplied by our peasantry when the need comes. . . . I want to be informed of the situation before I do or say more."

1241 "Hungarians! The opinion of Radio Free Kossuth is that the Red Star must be removed as soon as possible from the cupola of parliament. The fire department has been working since 1000. The star is placed at a height of

100 meters, weighs one ton and has a diameter of four meters."

1400 "The airlift is functioning well. Both yesterday and today a large quantity of medicine and food arrived at Ferihegy Airport. The airlift is operated by [number unintelligible] planes. Foreign relief consignments which come among other places from Great Britain, Switzerland and Austria are concentrated in Vienna and thence are taken by the regular airlift service to Budapest. On Tuesday, 21 [foreign?] planes landed at Ferihegy Airport, including Polish, Romanian, Belgian and Swiss planes. On Wednesday the arrival of food and medicine . . . is expected."

Listing of the new leadership of the Social Democratic Party: President, Anna Kethly; First Secretary, Gyula Kelemen; Deputy, Dr. Andras Revesz. "The great majority of the interim party leadership was imprisoned during the years of Rakosi's terror . . . the party's newspaper *Nepszava* will appear tomorrow."

1600 "Attention, attention! You will now hear an important announcement. The Presidential Council of the People's Republic has relieved Lajos Toth, First Deputy Minister of Home Defense and head of the Army General Staff, of his office. At the same time the Council nominated Pal Maleter as First Deputy Minister of Home Defense, and Istvan Kovacs as head of the Army General Staff. The Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic appointed Maj. Gen. Bela Kiraly<sup>6</sup> as military commander of the capital. In order to avoid misunderstanding, we announce that Istvan Kovacs . . . is not the same person as the notorious former First Secretary of the Budapest Party Committee."

1602 Announcement by the workers of the former National Air Defense Command:

"1. . . . We demand that our air defense be independent, free of all political and party influences. . . .

<sup>6</sup> General Kiraly was formerly Chief of the Training Section of the Ministry of Defense.

"2. We demand that Soviet troops withdraw from our country and that the government constantly inform the people of the progress of this withdrawal.

"3. We demand that Hungary become a neutral State, like Austria.

"4. We demand that free elections be held, without the supervision of any foreign State.

"5. We demand that our uranium mines be placed under Hungarian control immediately.

"6. We demand that public buildings which are now free be immediately handed over for necessary apartments.

"7. We demand that every organ of air defense be immediately used for the work of reconstruction, since it is in this way that they desire to show their loyalty to the revolutionary movement.

"8. We undertake the immediate dismantling of the unexploded shells, mines and hand grenades in Budapest.

"9. We place the stocks of our air raid defense stores and . . . drugs, bandages and medical instruments at the disposal of the health authorities.

"Signed: The Revolutionary Committee of the National Center of Hungarian Air Defense."

\* \* \*

"This afternoon a large crowd gathered in Lajos Kossuth Square. Imre Nagy came down from Parliament to the Kossuth Memorial and made a speech. In this speech he emphasized that it was not he who demanded the aid of Soviet troops, that this measure was taken without his knowledge. He declared that simultaneous with our resignation from the Warsaw Pact we are asking for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. After the Premier's speech, the crowd broke up into smaller groups and expressed its dissatisfaction with the person of the Minister of the Interior, Ferenc Munnich."

Description of Cardinal Mindszenty's arrival at his palace in Buda. "As early as 0700 [GMT] a growing crowd was gathering around the building in Uri Street to greet the Cardinal. . . . Cardinal Primate Mindszenty appeared on the balcony of the palace and spoke a few words of gratitude, after which he gave his blessing to the people who were kneeling as far as the eye could see. He then retired to his chapel, where he celebrated mass."

\* \* \*

"The semi-official Hungarian Roman Catholic Press Information Service took up its activities once again this morning, at 0900."

\* \* \*

"The Ministry of Health today took over two important health institutions. From now on the former security police hospital, Otto Corvin, will be under the authority of the Minister of Health, and will serve the civilian population. The hospital in Kutvolgyi Ut, which was until now reserved for Party functionaries, will be at the service of general patients."

\* \* \*

"The Ambassador of the Yugoslav People's Republic today called on Premier Nagy and had an interview with him which lasted half an hour. . . . A delegation of Csepel



United Press

Hungarian soldiers backed up by a tank guard the bullet and shell-pocked Budapest residence of Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty.

workers also had an interview with Imre Nagy today. They assured him of their complete confidence. Their most urgent demand was the immediate departure of the Soviet forces. . . . At the moment Imre Nagy is conferring with the Trans-Danubian Revolutionary Committee. A delegation from Cegled is waiting at his office to see him. . . ."

1620 Appeal to the world by the Christian Youth League:

"After 10 years of enforced silence, in the last few revolutionary days we have formed the first Christian organization, the Christian Youth League. We have to contend with indescribable difficulties and therefore we ask you, our sister organizations abroad, to come to our assistance morally and materially. Our aim is the rallying of Hungarian Christian youth into a single camp which should represent the ideals of young masses standing on the basis of Christian principles within the forces guiding the country's political life. Our address is: Budapest, V. Nagy Sandor Street, No. 6."

1700 Appeal to the workers from the temporary executive committee of the National Federation of Free Hungarian Trade Unions:

"Workers, Hungarian toilers! The miraculous revolution of youth and working people who have participated in the fighting has turned into a revolution of the entire Hun-

garian people and nation. The national revolution of our people has overthrown the rule of bureaucratic servants of foreign interests. Stalinist sectarian leaders have been removed, and factories have truly and irrevocably come into the hands of the workers. This revolution has also made the liberation of the trade union movement possible, so that, independent of all Party and government influence, the trade unions can indeed become a militant and consistent organization representing the interests of the workers.

"On the recommendation of the temporary Revolutionary Committee of the National Federation of Free Hungarian Trade Unions, the presidium of the National Trade Union Council has been dissolved with immediate effect and, with the inclusion of old and formerly imprisoned representatives of the workers' movement, a temporary executive committee set up. The executive committee asks workers, including organized workers, that wherever they disagree with the composition of factory committees they should hold new trade union elections on the basis of real trade union democracy.

"Workers, organized workers! It has become a general national demand that we shall not resume work so long as Soviet troops remain in Budapest. The government has promised . . . that the Soviet troops shall be withdrawn. The radio will announce the implementation of this. . . . We demand that the government should negotiate definitely with the Soviet government about the withdrawal of Soviet troops within a short time from the whole country, and publish the deadline for it. . . .

"We owe it to our youth, workers and army that the factories and workshops have truly become ours. It is our turn now to defend our factories, if need be with arms, and the magnificent achievements of our national revolution. . . ."

\* \* \*

Appeal for help from the Hungarian Red Cross to the youth: "No one knows the number of wounded."

\* \* \*

Announcement of temporary leadership for the National Peasant Party: Secretary-General, Ferenc Farkas; members of the executive committee: Dr. Istvan Bibó, former university professor; Ferenc S. Szabó, Director of the Agricultural Museum; Lajos Jócsik, former ministerial official; Gyula Zsigmond, former Deputy Secretary of the Planning Bureau; János Kurucz and Sándor Hodó, peasants; Zoltán Zsébök, doctor and university professor; Attila Szigeti, President of the National Committee of Győr-Sopron Country; József Kanyar, teacher; Imre Kondor, director of the library of the Technical Academy; and János Kelemen, writer. At the suggestion of Gyula Illyés, a supervisory committee was elected: Gyula Fejér, Gyula Illyés, János Kodolányi, Dezső Keresztfury, László Nemeth, Zsigmond Reményi, István Sinka, Lóránt Szabó, Pál Szabó, Áron Tamási and Péter Vercs.

1737 Report from Varpalota that Radio Free Petőfi is being jammed by a foreign radio station.

## Radio Free Kossuth, in French to Europe

1300 Declaration and demands of the Trans-Danubian National Council.\*

1300 "Order and calm prevail at Pécs. Today, Wednesday, is the first day of complete calm in Pécs and in the whole of Baranya County. The public services of Pécs are working as usual and work has been partially resumed in the mines. . . . The activities of the security police have been reduced to nil. The people's authority remains firmly in the hands of the National Guard. On Wednesday the first issue of the new daily *Szabad Dunantúl* was published. On the front page appeared the Kossuth coat-of-arms. . . ."

1310 Press review:

"The daily newspaper *Magyar Függetlenség*, the paper of the Hungarian National Revolutionary Committee . . . announces . . . that at 1700 on October 30 talks were started between Premier Imre Nagy and delegates of the armed forces, insurgents for freedom, the members of the National Revolutionary Committee and the delegates of the revolutionary intellectuals and students. József Dudas, chairman of the National Revolutionary Committee, put forward a proposal. . . .

"The editorial [in *Magyar Függetlenség*] written by Dudas points out that ' . . . the present coalition government must be transformed so that, along with Imre Nagy, Béla Kovács and János Kádár, each of the democratic parties is represented in the government by a minister. These latter, however, will have to be chosen from people who have not lost the confidence of their party.' [Dudas] convened a congress of the national revolutionary forces for Thursday morning. . . . 'The local revolutionary organs which formed spontaneously in Trans-Danubia . . . and in a great many towns of the Great Plain . . . still lack a central organization. The freedom fighters cannot therefore do justice to their real weight, cannot summon the required authority for their position vis-a-vis the government. . . . Neither the men of the anti-democratic policy of the pre-1945 regime nor the zealous supporters of Stalinism must figure among the delegates. This is the time when revolutionary vigilance is necessary.'

" . . . *Egyetemi Ifjúság*, the paper of the Students' Revolutionary Committee, demands . . . a new Hungarian foreign policy: ' . . . Hungary, autonomous and independent, must carry out an autonomous and independent foreign policy. . . . We have had enough of the yoke of the Great Powers, the mercenaries of Hitler and Stalin, of Szalasi and Rákosi. The nation's social system will be determined by the Hungarian people by means of free and democratic legislative elections, but whatever the regime chosen, our independence will not be for sale. In addition to the friendship of the great Western powers we need an international convention in which the four Great Powers will assure the neutrality of Hungary, a convention which, on the pattern of that of Switzerland and Austria, will assure the autonomy and freedom of our Fatherland.'

" . . . *Magyar Nemzet*. . . . 'Simultaneous with the

\* See the broadcast by Radio Free Győr, at 0715, October 31.

evacuation of Soviet troops, our second demand of decisive importance is being fulfilled—the end of the single-party regime and the advent of a political life based on the plurality of parties and free, general and secret elections. . . . We owe it to historic truth to say first of all that the call to the Soviet troops was not made by Imre Nagy, but by the Gero-Hegedus clique which called them into the capital."

1707 Account of a meeting of the Independent Smallholders' Party at Pecs, attended by over 100 former members and by Bela Kovacs, former Secretary-General of the party who had been under treatment in a Pecs nursing home.

"Istvan Dobi telephoned him [Kovacs] and informed him that Imre Nagy wanted to form a national government with his participation. Since in the past Kovacs had been in touch with Imre Nagy and supported efforts aimed at freeing the country from the Rakosi, Geros and their like, he agreed, but has not been in communication with

the government since. He said: 'I was astonished at seeing the new government list containing the names of several former Communist leaders. On the next day I wrote a letter of resignation in which I expressed my disagreement with the composition of the government, but my friends persuaded me not to send the letter. I do not know what the government wants. The prospects are great . . . but . . . only when I have been to Budapest and conferred with the members of the government shall I know.' Kovacs then spoke of the . . . future activity of the Independent Smallholders' Party. . . . 'No one must dream of going back to the world of counts, bankers and capitalists; that world is definitely over. A true member of the Smallholders' Party cannot think along the lines of 1939 or 1945. . . .' Finally Kovacs spoke of his views on Hungarian foreign policy. . . . 'The Hungarian people want a neutral Hungary.' The speech was received with great enthusiasm. . . . The delegates to the meeting decided that Kovacs' expulsion from the . . . party had been illegal and



Wide World

A derailed tramcar and a Soviet tank in the background during the fighting in downtown Budapest.

elected him president for life of the Baranya Departmental Federation. . . ."

### Radio Free Miskolc

1217 "Attention, attention! . . . As reported, the withdrawal of Soviet units has begun. However, for reasons that we and the people of the country do not understand, large Soviet forces—anti-aircraft units, tanks and troops—have changed their direction and again entered the territory of Hungary from Zahony in the direction of Nyiregyhaza. The reason for this circular movement of Soviet troops is incomprehensible to us. We observed the movement of Soviet troops all night, with the help of various sources, and we informed the President of the Council of Ministers [Premier] of the events of the night. We spoke by telephone with the Minister of State, Zoltan Tildy, and with the Deputy Minister of Defense, and we earnestly requested them to take up the matter with the Soviet commanders most energetically. . . . At our request the Council of Ministers was called together, and we received the following answer this morning: 'I can reassure you of the building up of an independent, free and democratic Hungary.'"

1645 Announcements that the Bishop of Vac is no longer in custody and that Radio Free Debrecen has begun to broadcast on wave length 42.5.

## Wednesday, October 31, 1956—Night

### Radio Free Kossuth

1800 ANNOUNCEMENT that the Revolutionary Council of the chief attorney's office has delegated military and civilian judges to control the release of political prisoners. "In order to prevent the release of persons imprisoned because they defended the Rakosi regime or committed crimes against the present revolution, the Council has decreed the release of persons imprisoned for offenses against the laws on food supply . . . the regrouping of land, and the cooperatives. . . . The Council has begun to revise those decrees which hurt the interest of the people. . . ."

1900 Statement by the Revolutionary Workers' Council of the Budapest power plant that they will not supply electricity—apart from the needs of the population and of hospitals—until Soviet troops evacuate all of Hungary.

\* \* \*

Appeal by the Revolutionary Council of the National Police Command: "The police, in close cooperation with the army and revolutionary youth, have begun to restore order and public security. By this morning many patrols were making their rounds in Budapest. Restoration of order is appreciably facilitated by the increasingly active part played by university youth."

1725 Report that contradictory accounts of Soviet troop movements have been received by the Debrecen Revolutionary Committee: "Therefore the situation is not as yet clear."

### Radio Free Gyor

1315 Announcement by the National Council of Gyor County that it has set up a press and information department in Gyor.

1735 States that it has been scientifically established that the jamming of the station is being done by a station "in a foreign country." The radio again protests this air piracy.

### Radio Free Szombathely

1200 "According to a Budapest communique the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest is in process. The government has restored all civil and ecclesiastical rights to Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty, Prince Primate of Hungary. We have received news that Cardinal Mindszenty has arrived in Budapest. . . . [The remainder of the broadcast could not be heard because of strong jamming, apparently from Slovakia.]

"In these difficult days we receive with a modesty purified by patriotism the tributes given to our people's great renaissance by the press and radio of various peoples. . . . It is, however, shocking that the Czechoslovak and Romanian press and radio comment in a Stalinist tone . . . on the events of our revolution. They echo the same terms as were used only a few days ago by the Hungarian Stalinists. . . . We cannot truthfully blame the Czechoslovak or Romanian people for the painful slanders, but we raise our voice firmly in protest against the slanders heaped on our revolution by the Romanian and Czechoslovak information services."

\* \* \*

Interview with a freed political prisoner, Karoly Molnar, sentenced to a 15-year term in 1953 on the charge of "organization of armed opposition to the people's democracy": "The convicts heard about the revolution of Hungarian youth on October 23 and decided to register their sympathy by launching a hunger strike. Two hundred and three convicts took part . . . for 96 hours. Convicts on the surface also staged a hunger strike in sympathy. In the end the non-convict miners intervened with the competent ministry to obtain their release."

2100 "News: The President of the Council of Ministers has declared that the government of the Hungarian Peo-

ple's Republic will immediately take up with the government of the Soviet Union the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. . . . The Hungarian government has requested the Soviet government to appoint a delegation to start talks immediately, and has also asked that the time and place of the above-mentioned talks be fixed."

\* \* \*

"Many requests have been submitted to Radio Free Kossuth asking for the discontinuation of jamming of Hungarian broadcasts from abroad. Radio Free Kossuth's viewpoint is that the struggle of words and ideas should not be interfered with over the air . . . the operation of jamming stations in Hungary has already been stopped. Therefore, the jamming which still interferes with broadcasts does not come from this country. The best illustration of this is that . . . the broadcasts of Radio Free Petofi are also jammed."

\* \* \*

Communiqué from the Revolutionary Students' Committee: "All armed students must return to their posts as soon as possible."

\* \* \*

"Leaflets distributed by the Revolutionary University Students' Committee carried the slogan: 'Our confidence is in Imre Nagy!' The leaflet announces, 'On Tuesday, October 23, this was also the slogan,' and then it continues:

"For about two or three days this confidence was shaken, but now it is stronger than ever. It has become evident that Imre Nagy was a prisoner of the security police for two days, and that he made his first radio announcement with a machine gun at his back. His recent declaration revealed that the introduction of martial law and the interference of Soviet troops were not ordered by him, and that the Rakosi-Gero scoundrels charged him with this in order to cause his downfall. We therefore believe in Imre Nagy, and we warn him to safeguard carefully the trust of the people! He must separate himself from the traitors. He must clean the filth of the past from the government, he must remove those who are rightly despised and hated by the people. He must take the necessary steps to accomplish the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, and must give instructions which will prevent the infiltration of the security police into the new police forces. Imre Nagy's adherence to his duties has already been proved by several proper measures, and we impatiently await further measures of this kind. Our trust will increase in proportion to Imre Nagy's compliance with the people's justified demands."

\* \* \*

Message relayed from Györ requesting Budapest hospitals not to send cars to the Austrian frontier, because Austrian authorities will not let them pass. News that the Austrians are delivering aid consignments by rail or in their own cars.

\* \* \*

"The Revolutionary Committee of Students appeals to the people of Hungary to keep aloof from those who want

to besmirch the sacred ideals and heroic days of our revolution by fishing in troubled waters, committing atrocities and resorting to arbitrary force. We shall act most resolutely against them. . . ."

\* \* \*

Account of the Olympic team's hesitation before leaving for Australia. "Our railwaymen refuse to move any train so long as there are Soviet troops in our country." The team finally left by bus for Prague: "The athletes were more concerned with what was going to happen at home than with what would happen in Australia. They altered their Olympic uniform in a hurry, tearing off the old national emblem. The composition of the team has also been changed. . . ."

2240 Appeal from the Revolutionary University Students' Committee:

"We regard the present political leadership as temporary. We support Imre Nagy to the extent to which he and his government meet our demands. To this end, we shall make use of any means to rid him of Stalinist influence. We therefore demand, among other things, that the old Stalinists Antal Apro, Eric Molnar, Ferenc Nézval, Janos Csergo and Mrs. Jozsef Nagy leave the government. On the other hand, we should like to see Mrs. Anna Kethly in the government, and Gyorgy Lukacs and Gyula Illyes in the posts of Minister of Education and Popular Culture, respectively. We should also like to see representatives of youth in the government. We also demand that the government immediately take steps to have Soviet troops recalled from the country by November 30 at the latest. If we receive an open and resolute answer from the government within three days, we shall help to start production so that our people do not suffer further material damage. . . . We want neither Stalinism nor capitalism. We want a truly democratic and truly Socialist Hungary, completely independent from any other country. Finally, we demand most firmly that the bootlickers of the Rakosi clique leave the radio which served the Stalinist regime and which even a few days ago was still slandering our glorious fight for freedom. . . ."

"On behalf of the Revolutionary University Students' Committee: Istvan Pozsar, Janos Varga, Jozsef Molnar and Janos Papp."

Reply to this appeal:

"In his speech to the participants in the mass demonstration before the parliament building this morning, and then in his statement to a group of British and American correspondents, Imre Nagy was resolute and determined in saying that Hungary would leave the Warsaw Pact and would fight in this way too for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, even if it should be alone among the Warsaw Pact countries to take this step. . . .<sup>6</sup> You will certainly have noticed from the complete change in the

<sup>6</sup> At 1945 Radio Vienna broadcast a recorded interview with Premier Nagy taped on the afternoon of October 31 in the Buda-

name and tone of Radio Kossuth, which took place a day and a half ago, that we have removed the Stalinist leadership of the radio and have elected a Revolutionary Workers' Council in its place. We shall be pleased if the Revolutionary Committee of University Students will make contact with our workers' council and help it in its work. . . ."

2300 "Three hundred and ninety-five political prisoners have left Marianosztra<sup>7</sup> Prison in complete order. These prisoners were freed on Sunday upon the intervention of the Szob national committee. . . ."

## Radio Free Kossuth, in French to Europe

2300 "Kis Ujsag, the central organ of the Smallholders'

pest parliament building. Nagy answered the questions in halting German. The following are the highlights of the interview:

"Q: What about the Warsaw Pact now? Are you in it or not?

"A: At present, we are in it.

"Q: Do you wish to leave the Warsaw Pact, if the Hungarian people desire this?

"A: Today we have begun negotiations on this matter. . . .

"Q: It will now be necessary to reconstruct Hungary economically. Will you apply to the Western Powers for aid in the reconstruction of Hungary?

"A: It seems to me that we will have to count on all economic forces to help us emerge from this situation.

"Q: According to the agreement you have concluded, are the Soviet forces now withdrawing to their original bases in Hungary?

"A: At present the forces in Budapest, it seems, have already withdrawn and have returned to their bases.

"Q: In Hungary?

"A: Yes, in Hungary. I do not know exactly from where they came.

"Q: There are also some Soviet forces which came across the border from other States. Are they also withdrawing to where they came from?

"A: I think so, yes. I do not know from where they came, but they will return from where they came.

"Q: You said just a few minutes ago that you were put under pressure to bring in the Soviet troops, that it was not you who invited the Soviet troops to move into Budapest. Who invited them?

"A: It was not I—that I can say. At that time I was not Premier. I was not a member of the Central Committee of the Party.

"Q: How then did the opinion appear that you invited the troops?

"A: I do not know. At that time I was not a member of the leadership. It may have been this way: at first it was said it was the government, and then later on, after two or three days, I was made Premier, and the masses are unable to differentiate. Two days ago or now, it is all the same to them.

"Q: But did you not approve of the invitation to the Soviet troops afterward?

"A: No.

"Q: Did you say it was necessary for the re-establishment of peace and order, or did you not?

"A: No, no, no. I did not say such a thing, and I must say that its appearance has caused much damage.

"Q: What will now be the first measures of the government?

"A: We have very grave economic problems. The most important problem is to restore order here and to re-establish economic life. . . ."

<sup>7</sup> Marianosztra Prison, in Nograd County, was a women's prison before World War II.



Bela Kovacs

Party, will appear again in Budapest tomorrow morning. Its director is Bela Kovacs, its editor-in-chief Dezsö Futo."

## Radio Free Miskolc

1815 Announcement that Radio Rakoczi in Kaposvar began broadcasting on wave length 50.

1850 Report that, according to a telephone message from Nyiregyhaza, Soviet units are continuously passing through on their withdrawal from Hungary; also that Soviet tanks stopped in central square of Nyiregyhaza to ask directions to Zahony, the border town.

2010 Declaration by the workers' council of Szatmar-Szabolcs County:

"The border guards have been on the people's side from the first moment on. They cannot be identified with those security policemen. . . . Continue to help them . . . to secure the defense of the border. We have published this announcement because we have received complaints from the border that the people did not show the respect and trust due to the military units who have joined the people."

2025 "Dear listeners! . . . We were the first to announce to our listeners Marshal Zhukov's order on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Also, we were the first to

report that the Soviet Army was carrying out operations in the Zahony area which amounted to going around in circles. At the same time . . . we had made contact with our present government. We gave an account of the interview with Mr. Zoltan Tildy, Minister of State, and the Deputy Chairman of the National Defense Committee in our afternoon transmission. During the night, that is, from 0100 hours until now, we continuously tried to get in touch . . . to make inquiries about their opinion of the present situation. All we could get as a reply was: 'We are negotiating,' and again, 'We are negotiating,' and 'Do not worry.' Nothing else. . . . What can be the reason for this? . . . We expect the government not to strain the people's nerves to the breaking point. . . . When we announced Marshal Zhukov's order, the Free Kossuth Radio resented it half an hour later. It resented the fact that we had beaten them to it. Dear Kossuth Radio, if you don't mind, this was not the first announcement with which we came out first. And if you are not up to the mark, we shall try to beat you to it in the future too. We turned to the government, and we expected the government to understand us, to trust us, and to be pleased to reply to the County of Borsod. . . . We have failed to get

a reply over the telephone. We are now asking for a reply over the radio to our most important question so that we can act calmly . . . in the interest of restoring the Socialist order of our free Hungarian fatherland. . . ."

2040 Review of foreign newspapers, including *Pravda* [Moscow], *Avanti!* [Rome] and the *New York Times*. Comment that *Pravda* "basely slandered our fight for liberation and branded it an anti-popular adventure." Statement that the Polish and Western press are generally in sympathy with the resistance fighters. Quote from the *New York Times* to the effect that if the USSR breaks its promise to evacuate Hungary there will be war between the USSR and the Hungarian people.

\* \* \*

"The news that foreign forces confiscate all food and medical consignments which arrive in Budapest under the pretext that they contain arms has been confirmed. Hungarian freedom fighters have asked the UN to send observers to Hungary to examine the present situation."

\* \* \*

Announces Trans-Danubian Council's demands [see October 31, Radio Free Györ, 0715 hrs.].



A captured Soviet tank flies the Hungarian flag. October 30.

United Press

2235 Demands of the workers' council of Borsod County: "We demand that the government must speak frankly and without restraint through the allegedly free Radio Kossuth because we will not stop fighting otherwise. We demand that the Russian troops immediately start actually leaving the country because there will be no order, peace or tranquillity on the soil of our country, sprinkled with precious blood, until they have left. We look forward to deeds by the government and not to its words."

2240 Report that the Kunmadaras airfield is in perfect condition for the use of planes bringing supplies. Request to the Borsod County Revolutionary Council to make Mis-kolc airfield fit for daytime operations. Complaint that the Szolnok Revolutionary Council is not up to its task, that the radio station is in the hands of State security police, and that Soviet troops have disarmed Hungarian artillery units in Szolnok. Request that the Borsod County Revolutionary Council contact some military units in Trans-Danubia, especially the fighter aircraft units in Sarmellek and another place, because these units possess transmitting sets of great power.

## Radio Free Györ

1930 "A new radio transmitter is here. This is Radio Free Petofi II from Györ on the 43 meter band. Dear listeners, with this our broadcasting range has grown con-

siderably. Until now the country could hear Radio Free Petofi [Györ], now the whole world can hear us because Radio Free Petofi II will relay the programs of Radio Free Petofi [Györ] I."

## Radio Free Szombathely

1835 "In order to preserve Hungary's independence we ask the [UN] Security Council to send material and, if necessary, military aid to Hungary. . . . We do not recognize the present government."

## Radio [Free] Rajk

2000 "This is Radio Rajk. Listen daily at 0800, 1630 and 2000. Comrades! Peace is gradually returning to the country. But those base villains who caused this bloodshed cannot escape their punishment. We shall deal with the lies we have heard over Radio Kossuth, and which we have read in some of the papers, and which were even believed in Moscow. In the Security Council of the UN the Soviet delegate called the Hungarian insurgents Fascist counterrevolutionaries. . . ." [Poor reception. Denunciation of the Soviet Union and members of the security police. Material is often repeated from tape, with same errors recurring.]

# Thursday, November 1, 1956

*Imre Nagy announces Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, proclaims Hungarian neutrality, and asks the United Nations to put the Hungarian question on its agenda. Nepakarat, newspaper of the Free Hungarian Trade Unions, is published for the first time. The National Peasant Party, now called the Petofi Party, is reorganized. Kadar attacks past leaders and policies of the Hungarian Communist Party and announces the reorganization of the Party under the name of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.*

*Soviet units surround Hungarian airfields, allegedly to protect evacuation of Soviet dependents from Budapest. Budapest ringed by Soviet tanks. The Hungarian Army asks all personnel to maintain discipline and avoid clashes with Soviet troops.*

## — Morning

### Radio Free Kossuth

0755 "NEWS REACHED the Austrian frontier that Erno Gero and Andras Hegedus escaped from Hungary toward the Soviet Union on Tuesday night. Former Minister of the Interior Laszlo Piros went with them."

0755 Report that the head office of the National Social Insurance has set up its Revolutionary Committee and has removed leading officials responsible for grave mistakes.

<sup>1</sup> Revesz did not reach Vienna.

0755 "Anna Kethly and Andras Revesz<sup>1</sup>, [Deputy] Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party, will leave for Vienna today for talks with Social Democratic delegates to the Socialist International."

0858 "On October 31, 1956, delegates of the National Committees of Trans-Danubia set up the Trans-Danubian National Council, with headquarters in Györ. The Council fully identifies itself with the heroic freedom fighters. Every county in Trans-Danubia is represented by two delegates and county capitals and the city of Györ will each be represented by two delegates. . . .

"Within the next 24 hours, the Trans-Danubian Na-

tional Council will start negotiations with the government on the subject of its fulfillment of the nation's demands. The TNC wants to receive a guarantee from the government that it will keep its promises—in particular, the promise that Soviet troops will evacuate the country at the given time. The TNC welcomes [into its organization] the military units of Papa, Gyor, Tata and Zalaegerszeg and salutes their promise to protect the people from any foreign attack, even in the face of higher orders. The TNC considers it desirable that all military forces be organized uniformly in Trans-Danubia. . . .

"The government must announce to the UN that Hungary has become a neutral country. We demand that the government guarantee and secure freedom of speech, press, assembly and religion. If the government fails to fulfill our demands . . . we shall refuse to support it—even conditionally. A five-member delegation will immediately discuss our demands with Premier Nagy."

0908 ". . . This morning *Nepszava*, central organ of the Social Democratic Party, *Kis Ujsag*, organ of the Smallholders' Party, and *Szabad Szó*, the National Peasant Party paper, made their first appearance. Aside from these party papers, other new publications also appeared . . . *Igazsag*, put out by revolutionary youth and the Army; *Csepeli Ujsag*, put out by the Csepel National Committee; *Magyar Fuggetlenseg*, published by the Hungarian National Revolutionary Committee; *Nepakarat*, organ of the renascent Hungarian Free Trade Union Federation; *Magyar Ifjusag*, issued by the Revolutionary Council of Young Workers; and *Valosag*, printed by the Pest County workers."

0908 Review of two articles in *Igazsag*. In one of them a journalist describes meeting Mikoyan and Suslov, who were negotiating with Janos Kadar on the withdrawal of Soviet troops: "People who were present believe that the Soviet government's declaration expressing regret that the events in Hungary led to bloodshed is the result of Mikoyan's report on the Hungarian situation.

"In the other article, Colonel Pal Maleter, Commander of the Kilian Barracks, is interviewed. Maleter says: 'We know Zoltan Tildy and Imre Nagy, we know their way of thinking . . . and we know that they fought tooth and nail for our people, that they represent our people. . . . Just as we have confidence in the government, the government has confidence in us. Therefore, we are not surrendering our arms, but together with the Army units . . . will help safeguard public order in Budapest.'"

0945 Announcement by the Command of the Forces of Public Order that a Revolutionary Committee has been formed by factory guards, the Army, and the police "with a view to coordinating the activity of the forces of public order to safeguard the achievements of our victorious national revolution."

"The Committee will function until a new government, created by general and secret elections, takes office. Representatives of armed units not belonging to the Army or police decided yesterday to form a new National Guard which enjoys equal status with the regular Army and

police. Aside from the Army and the police only members of the National Guard are authorized to bear weapons."

1015 "The Council of Ministers has relieved Colonel Andras Marton as commanding officer of the Zrinyi Miklos Military Academy and has appointed him commander of the outer defense of Budapest. Major General Bela Szekely has been named the new commander of the Zrinyi Miklos Military Academy."

1100 "Director of the Budapest Power Plant Jozsef Szabo declared that if the present coal consumption level remains the same, we have enough coal reserves for two weeks."

\* \* \*  
Review of a *Kis Ujsag* article on the need for a purge of the Smallholders' Party:

"In the vanguard of the Smallholders' Party there are people . . . who have no business in our ranks. . . . We demand the immediate removal of those pseudo-Smallholders' Party members whose political tricks have hindered the realization of our . . . objectives. We cannot accept the fact that the most faithful satellites . . . and well-placed bootlickers of the Rakosi dictatorship now suddenly realize that they were once members of the Smallholders' Party. No, gentlemen . . . we have had enough of this. Those who trampled on the nation when it was suffering and humiliated, those who delivered ideological lectures . . . when our people groaned and suffered . . . in prison cells and concentration camps, and who accepted every commission from their bloodthirsty masters in order to fatten themselves . . . such people must get out."

\* \* \*  
Nine demands of the "Hungarian agrarian population" as published in *Parasztl Fuggetlenseg* [Peasant Independence]:

"1. Complete rejection . . . of Stalinist peasant policy. A decree must be issued ordering the dissolution of weak [agricultural] collectives and collectives established by means of violence. Peasants must be granted the right to leave collectives. . . . The land, property and animals which they brought to the collectives must be returned to them and they must be given State support. The present system of State assistance to collectives must be discontinued. State support must be administered by a collective center . . . elected by collective members.

"2. An agricultural delegation composed of peasant representatives, members of new parties, agricultural experts and journalists must be sent to study the system of large-scale farming in Western Europe—Denmark, Holland, England, the northern countries [Scandinavia]—and the United States, and their experiences must be used to benefit Hungarian agriculture.

"3. The present setup of the machine tractor stations [MTS] must be discontinued. . . .

"4. Far-reaching financial assistance must be granted to independent peasants.

"5. We approve the discontinuation of the compulsory delivery system . . . but this is only a first step. The extremely high peasant taxes must be reduced immediately

and the present system of taxation must be revised. . . .

"6. The old system of selling and purchasing land must be restored.

"7. State farms whose output and profits are inadequate must be liquidated.

"8. The Ministry of Ingathering [produce collection] must be abolished, the Ministries of Agriculture and State farms merged, and the bureaucratic apparatus reduced.

"9. Peasant Revolutionary Committees must be established in all villages. Members of the Committees should be recruited from the democratic parties and should take power until elections are held."

\* \* \*

"We wish to inform our listeners that today . . . at 1900 we will broadcast Mozart's *Requiem* in honor of All Souls' Day and in memory of those heroes of the Hungarian National Freedom Fight who were killed in action."

### Radio [Free] Rajk

0810 "Our [Communist] Party was forced to make the gravest concessions. It was compelled to consent to the reorganization of the bourgeois parties. Nevertheless, it will never give up its aims and its program. . . . If Moscow wants to restore the confidence of Hungarian Communists, it will mete out the most severe punishment to all those Russian commanders and officers who were guilty of and ordered the massacre.

"We Hungarian Communists will find out who asked for the intervention of Russian troops . . . and the guilty will get what they deserve—the gallows. . . .

"It is our internal affair that Hungarian Communists maintain leadership in accordance with their strength in the coalition government and it is the Soviet's internal affair to deal adequately with criminal Soviet officers, in

the interests of strengthening Hungarian Communists. Both sides should concern themselves with the internal affairs of their own nations."

### Radio Free Györ

0740 Report on an October 31 meeting, between Premier Nagy and a delegation of the Trans-Danubian National Council, in the course of which Nagy accepted the Council's demands and asked for its assistance.

"The Premier asked us to call off the strike. Just before seeing us, he received a large delegation from the Csepel Iron Works and was also able to convince them of the need to call off the strike. He acknowledged the workers' right to strike as a general principle. He would consider a strike legitimate if our demands are not met. . . . He said that it was Hegedus who had called the Russians to Budapest. He also said that he had already promised the Dorog miners<sup>2</sup> a general wage revision.

"One of our delegates told Nagy that some of the people have no confidence in him and suggested that he resign in favor of Bela Kovacs. Nagy replied that he feels he possesses the people's confidence; should he be convinced of the contrary, he would give up his post. . . . Should he be unable to assure free elections, he would resign. . . .

"In the course of our talks [we told Nagy that] the workers in the Varpalota<sup>3</sup> industrial area are afraid that the Soviet Union may effect a military occupation of the whole of Hungary and thus present the other Great Powers with a *fait accompli*. Nagy's reply was that the government's recall of its UN representative was, in the language of diplomacy, the most forceful protest. . . ."

<sup>2</sup> Dorog, northwest of Budapest, was a strong center of resistance.

<sup>3</sup> Varpalota, southwest of Budapest in Fejer County, is largely a mining community.

## Thursday, November 1, 1956 – Afternoon

### Radio Free Kossuth

1400 ANNOUNCEMENT that Nagy, in addition to his duties as Premier, will take over the direction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "This change was necessary to enforce the new, independent political policy of the Hungarian people's government. The chief task . . . is immediate talks in connection with the Warsaw Pact and the withdrawal of Soviet troops."

\* \* \*

"Workers of the Mint! The real cause of the revolution is in danger. Arms have been obtained by elements whose objective is not the sacred cause of the revolution but looting and robbery. For the sake of defending the peaceful population, we ask you to mint the insignia of the . . . National Guard. . . ."

\* \* \*

National Peasant Party announcement that it has

changed its name to the Petofi Party to "express its sharp opposition to the years of tyranny."

"The Petofi Party will accept into its ranks only those persons who showed a truly Hungarian and humane attitude . . . during the years of tyranny. Yesterday, when the party was reorganized, a group of directors was elected instead of a President. . . . The newly-elected Secretary-General is Ferenc Farkas."

\* \* \*

### Ministry of Health communiqué:

"The events of the past week have had their effect on public health. . . . Strict compliance with the requirements of public and individual cleanliness is important. . . . Due to the vast accumulation of trash and refuse, the [Budapest sanitation department] is having difficulty carrying out its tasks. The help of the population is needed. . . . Guard against hoarding perishable foods. . . . Milk should be boiled before consumption. . . . Although there is no

epidemic, persons who suspect they are ill should seek medical attention. . . . Measures by the health authorities should be carried out more strictly than hitherto."

\* \* \*

Appeal by the Hungarian Writers' Union to guard the "purity of the revolution," and not to "pass judgment in the streets. . . . Hand over the guilty unharmed either to the National Guard or Army patrols. Personal revenge is an act unworthy of us. The whole world is watching. . . . Do not besmirch our revolution."

1600 Announcement by the revived Association of Freedom Fighters [anti-Nazi resistance association, banned in 1949]:

"Revolutionary youth, cooperating with the Freedom Fighters, is ready to defend the achievements of the revolution, with arms if necessary—as was proved by Colonel Pal Maleter. . . . We call upon the government to take steps resolutely against those endangering our freedom . . . and to insure that Soviet troops leave the country at once."

1602 Telegram from the Hungarian Legation in London voicing its unanimous support of the revolution.

1658 "Workers of the planning office of the uranium ore enterprise want to inform the Hungarian working people that plans and data on Hungarian uranium production are in the custody of the enterprise. In view of this, the workers of the enterprise are in a position to continue production."

1713 "Premier Imre Nagy . . . today asked to see Mr. Andropov, USSR Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. Nagy told him that the Hungarian government had received authoritative information on the entry of new Soviet military units into Hungary. He demanded their immediate withdrawal. He informed the Soviet Ambassador that the Hungarian government is giving immediate notice of the termination of the Warsaw Pact and is declaring Hungary's neutrality. He added that the Hungarian government is appealing to the United Nations and . . . the four Great Powers to safeguard the nation's neutrality.

"The Soviet Ambassador acknowledged the protest . . . and promised to ask his government for an immediate reply.

"The Premier informed . . . all heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Budapest of the contents of his talk with the Soviet Ambassador. He also sent a telegram to the UN Secretary-General . . . informing him of the Hungarian government's decision and asking that the matter be placed on the agenda of the next General Assembly session."

## Radio Free Kossuth, in French to Europe

1300 Text of the telegram sent by Nagy to the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR:

"The government of the Hungarian People's Republic wishes to begin immediate negotiations on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory. With reference

to the latest declaration of the Soviet government . . . [that] it is ready to negotiate with the Hungarian government and other member States of the Warsaw Pact on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, the Hungarian government invites the Soviet government to appoint a delegation so that talks can begin as soon as possible. It requests that the Soviet government designate the time and place. . . ."

\* \* \*

"Cardinal Mindszenty . . . received representatives of the Hungarian and foreign press, radio and television in Buda Palace. . . . He said: 'After long imprisonment, I greet all the sons of the Hungarian nation. I bear no hatred against anyone. . . . The struggle being waged for [Hungarian] liberty is unparalleled in world history. Our young men deserve all the glory. They deserve our gratitude and . . . our prayers. . . .'

"The situation in the country is very serious and all conditions for continuing normal life are absent. A way towards fruitful development must be found as soon as possible. I am collecting information and in two days I shall speak to the nation about ways towards a solution."

\* \* \*

Press reviews:

Report that an article by Anna Kethly in *Nepszava* warns against the counterrevolutionary dangers which still exist and which "threaten the ideological substance and goals of the revolution. . . . Freed from one prison, let us not permit the country to become a prison of another color. Let us watch over the factories, mines and the land, which must remain in the hands of the people."

"*Nepakarat*, organ of the National Council of Free Trade Unions, announces . . . that the Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions has resigned and that a provisional executive committee composed of revolutionary leaders and former trade union leaders who were imprisoned or 'put on index' has taken over. [The paper says that] the committee has issued an announcement stating that . . . the trade unions are independent of the government and all political parties, . . . and [will not] surrender their right to strike. . . . The committee has decided that Hungarian Trade Unions will no longer belong to the [Communist dominated] World Federation of Trade Unions."

*Magyar Függetlenség*, organ of the National Revolutionary Committee:

"Nagy must free himself from the forces of reaction. He can do so now because the country is still on his side; it is still possible to repair the mistakes committed by the government on October 23. We shall not yield and we will struggle against the restoration of capitalism with the same force with which we ousted Rakosi and Gero. . . . Do not abuse the patience of the rebelling people. . . . Perhaps we are one minute away from the 12th hour and that minute may mean life or death."

\* \* \*

Review of the situation in the provinces: reports that at Debrecen Soviet troop movements were noted



Free Europe Press

The remains of a Soviet T-54 heavy tank destroyed in front of the Kilian Barracks. The turret has been completely blown off.

during the night of October 31; they were believed moving towards Szolnok; that the Szeged strike committee has called on workers of the town factory to continue the strike; that in Baranya County the National Committee of workers decided to start work in all factories on November 2 in order to help restore order.

### Radio Free Györ

1310 "Pecs miners have decided . . . to disassociate themselves from the Baranya County Revolutionary Committee because it is revolutionary only in name and is doing nothing in fact. The miners are firmly determined to continue striking. They protest that the post office is trying to isolate them and is not answering telephone calls from the mines."

### Radio Free Miskolc

1600 "Dear listeners among our Slovak and Czech friends! It hurts us that you still do not understand us and do not support us, as do our Polish comrades. We thank you for your . . . help and medical supplies. . . . It is regrettable, however, that your press speaks about us in deprecatory terms. . . . We do not want the capitalists and large landowners to return. We do not want the former Hungary of the gentry. We want to live a life of equal rights. We want to be able to dispose freely of our production and we want free, democratic elections. We support the small peasants, middle peasants and all those collectives which were set up or will be set up on a freely voluntary basis. We do not want . . . bourgeois parties,

but Social Democratic parties, parties which will never again oppose the demands of our people. . . . We believe that you also are thinking along these lines and do not believe the calumnies of the Czechoslovak radio."

### Radio [Free] Rajk

1750 " . . . [Communist dictators have been] hunting for us and our station because they do not understand the degree of the nation's dissatisfaction and despair. . . . Comrades, if the Communist Party wishes to continue in the leading and guiding role . . . it must proclaim and demand immediately and loudly all that the Hungarian people rightfully demand. It is up to us, the Communist Party, officially and publicly . . . to ask the Russian and fraternal . . . Communist Parties . . . for our immediate release from the Warsaw Pact and the withdrawal of the Russian Army from our country. . . .

"Rakosi's salami tactics backfired and brought catastrophe because they cut off the people's freedom slice by slice. . . . The Soviet leaders must see that they cannot change the beliefs . . . of our nation by using bayonets, nor can Hungarian youth be won over to the lofty tenets of Marxism-Leninism by attempts to transform them into Russians, by declaring that learning the Russian language is their main task. . . .

"We demand that Janos Kadar, temporary chief of the Party, publicly . . . call upon the leadership of the USSR and the Soviet and fraternal Communist parties and make them see that the Hungarian Communist Party is fighting for survival and that it can survive only if it serves the interests of the Hungarian people."

## Thursday, November 1, 1956 – Night

### Radio Free Kossuth

1856 "IMRE NAGY at the microphone:

"People of Hungary: The Hungarian national government, imbued with profound responsibility towards the Hungarian people and history, declare . . . the neutrality of the Hungarian People's Republic. . . . The revolutionary struggle fought by the Hungarian people and its heroes has at last carried the cause of freedom and independence to victory. The heroic struggle has made it possible to implement . . . our fundamental national interest – neutrality. We appeal to our neighbors to respect the irrevocable decision of our people. . . . Working millions of Hungary, protect and strengthen . . . the consolidation of order in our country free, independent, democratic and neutral Hungary!"

1930 Declaration of Professor Janosi, world-famous atomic scientist:

"The Hungarian uranium mine is in Hungarian hands. Soviet engineers and their families have left the mine and now revolutionary soldiers . . . are guarding the Kovagoszollos mine. . . . The Soviet authorities zealously guarded everything connected with uranium. . . . Hungarian experts were left in the dark. For instance, I, as Vice-Chairman of the Atomic Energy Committee, was not informed about the existence of uranium. I found out only through the papers. . . .

"I do not know what contracts we have with the Soviet Union. However, no great harm can have been done since uranium mining is only at the initial stage. . . . The rumor that sixteen tons were sent out of the country seems to be true, but this means sixteen tons of ore. Very little uranium can be obtained from this. . . . At present, nobody can say with certainty how much uranium there is in the country. . . . However, it is likely that the deposits are considerable. . . . In my opinion, the government should form a national Atomic Energy Commission as soon as possible."

1933 Address by Social Democratic leader Gyula Kelenben:

"Hundreds of thousands of organized workers, who suffered the bitterness of oppression, are today rebuilding the Social Democratic Party. The most cruel kind of capitalism did not exploit us in the way we were exploited during the last eight years. . . . We ask every Social Democrat to support the national committees and to help them in their work. We must renew our youth organization and rebuild our organizations in the country. Our peasant members must concentrate their forces to prevent any attempt at restoring large landed properties. Finally, we ask those families of political prisoners who have not yet returned to send us their names. Let us protect our liberty . . . and build a neutral and free Hungary."

1958 Announcement by Dr. Laszlo Papp:

"A national committee has been established for the spiritual and organizational reorganization of the Hungarian Presbyterian Church. The committee first of all expressed its conviction that . . . the Hungarian Presbyterian Church recognizes as its leader Bishop Laszlo Ravasz, who was forced to resign because of political pressure."

2039 Statement by Ferenc Farkas on behalf of the Petofi Party:

"So long as the Soviet government has not effected withdrawal of its troops from the country, the Petofi Party cannot accept any part in the government. . . . [Our] fight was conducted for freedom, independence and democracy. Although the fight for freedom has triumphed, it has not yet achieved all its objectives. For the sake of attaining these objectives, the Petofi Party calls for a referendum within three days on the immediate abrogation of the Warsaw Pact. By this proposal, we wish to lend support to the decision of the Imre Nagy government. . . .

"A supreme national council, headed by composer Zoltan Kodaly, should be formed and include representatives of the armed insurgents, the democratic parties and the Writers' Union. The council should be the supreme [organ] of governmental power in the revolutionary period. . . . Formation of a supreme national council . . . would mean that the government, one section of which is responsible for the outbreak of the revolution, would fall at once."

2100 "Dear listeners, Janos Kadar will now speak to the Hungarian people:

"Hungarian workers, peasants and intellectuals. . . . In a glorious uprising our people have shaken off the Rakosi regime. They have achieved freedom for the people and independence for the country, without which there can be no Socialism. We can safely say that . . . those who prepared this uprising were recruited from our ranks. Communist writers, journalists, university students, the youth of the Petofi Club, thousands and thousands of workers and peasants and veteran fighters who were imprisoned on false charges fought in the front lines against Rakosi's despotism and political hooliganism. We are proud that you have stood your ground honestly in the armed uprising. . . . You were permeated by true patriotism and loyalty to Socialism. . . .

"We have come to a crossroads in our uprising. The Hungarian democratic parties must [now] choose between stabilizing our achievements or facing an open counter-revolution. . . . We did not fight in order that mines and factories might be snatched from the hands of the working class and the land from the hands of the peasantry. . . . Either the uprising secures the basic achievements of democracy . . . or we sink back into the slavery of the world of the gentry . . . and into the service of foreigners. The grave and alarming danger exists that foreign armed inter-

vention may allot to our country the tragic fate of Korea. . . . We must eliminate the nests of counterrevolution.

"In these momentous hours, the Communists who fought against Rakosi's despotism have . . . decided to form a new Party. . . . In these momentous hours, we call on every Hungarian worker who is inspired by affection for the people and the country to join our Party, whose name is the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. A preparatory committee has been formed whose members are: Ferenc Donath, Janos Kadar, Sandor Kopacs, Geza Losonczi, Gyorgy Lukacs, Imre Nagy and Zoltan Szanto. This committee will begin to organize the Party, will supervise its operations temporarily and will convene as soon as possible a national statutory meeting. The Party will publish a paper entitled *Nepszabadsag*.

"Workers, peasants and intellectuals! The new Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, is prepared to do its share in fighting for the consolidation of independence and democracy. . . . We turn to the newly-formed democratic parties--first of all . . . to the Social Democratic Party--with the request that they help consolidate the gov-

ernment and thereby overcome the danger of menacing countries and intervention from abroad."

2102 "Minister of State and Secretary-General of the Independent Smallholders' Party Bela Kovacs has arrived in Budapest and has joined the national government. . . ."

\* \* \*

Declaration by the Revolutionary Committee of the Foreign Ministry:

" . . . We think that acknowledgment of Hungary's neutrality by the Big Powers and the neighboring States is in the basic interest of the Hungarian nation and the Central European peoples. . . . In the present difficult economic situation, we consider it important that the government turn to the Big Powers for financial support. . . . At the next UN session Hungary will . . . be represented by a delegation which has the trust of the entire nation. . . . Delegates Imre Horvath and Endre Sik<sup>4</sup> are already on their way back to Budapest. . . ."

<sup>4</sup> Sik was apparently appointed a few days earlier but subsequently was considered to be unsuitable for the post.



Free Europe Press

Entrance to Radio Kossuth where, at the beginning of the revolution, the security police shot out of the windows into the crowd. The new banner reads: "Free Hungarian Radio."

2102 "We inform our listeners that jamming stations in Hungary have stopped operating."

2120 Order of the Revolutionary National Defense Committee and the Minister of Defense:

"1. Officers, NCO's and soldiers separated from their units, on leave or otherwise absent should report within 24 hours to local garrisons or the National Guard Command if they are not yet members of units concerned with maintaining order.

"2. Military persons who are already members of organized groups participating in the revolution should remain in these groups and help keep order until further notice.

"3. Every military person separated from his unit . . . must report his whereabouts to his unit."

2130 Statement by Denes Farkas on behalf of the Democratic People's Party:

"I want to announce that the DPP has again become active. We appeal to the country as a whole, primarily to those 800,000 constituents who voted for us in 1947, despite the terror and election fraud. The DPP is standing on its old program. We support the government in its effort to maintain order and to protect life and property. . . . We wish to declare, however, that in conformity with our attitude in the past, we are not ready to participate in any coalition government. All we request from the government is complete freedom to agitate and organize. . . . We stand before you with a clear conscience. The banner of our party has not been soiled in any way. Only a small minority in our party yielded to force; the others remained loyal. . . . We request all members of our party's parliament [presumably, leadership] to come to Budapest as soon as possible so that we can make decisions concerning the party's final organization. . . ."

2150 Appeal by First Deputy Minister of Defense Pal Malete for an end to the strike: "We must insure milk for our children, coal for our factories and regular transportation for our workers. . . . Hungarian workers! Strengthen our free, independent and neutral Hungary. . . . Resume work!"

2150 Appeal by the Revolutionary Committees of major Budapest factories urging workers to return to their jobs:

"It is . . . obvious that continuation of the strike will lead to complete paralysis of our national life. We have also seen that . . . by resuming work we will politically strengthen the government, a step which, in view of our unanimous confidence in the government, is fully justified."

2230 "The Soviet Legation in Budapest announced that airfields of the Hungarian Air Force have been surrounded by Soviet armored forces to secure the air transportation of members and families of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. . . .

"The Hungarian Air Force, in full complement, is ready to defend itself against overwhelming odds. However, the government, in full realization of its responsibilities, has prohibited shooting. Thus, the Hungarian Air Force has

maintained discipline and is . . . waiting for the departure of Soviet troops."

2300 "Lutheran Bishops Dr. Lajos Veto and Dr. Laszlo Dezsery . . . have resigned from their offices. Pending decision by the competent Church authorities, they will carry out no Church services whatever. . . . Dr. Lajos Ordass has been entrusted with the leadership of the Lutheran Church's Southern District. . . . The Office of the Lutheran Bishops identifies itself with the heroic fight for freedom. . . ."

2320 "The Hungarian National Aeronautical Federation has been formed and identifies itself with the demands of revolutionary Hungarian youth. . . . In a free country, we shall fly on free wings."

## Radio Free Kossuth, in French to Europe

1900 "The Revolutionary Committee of the Budapest City Council held a meeting today in City Hall. The meeting was presided over by former Mayor Peter Bechtler.<sup>5</sup> . . . The Committee discussed problems of interest to the population of the capital. It was found that the remains of the victims of the bloody struggle is an important problem. . . . The gas works have at present sufficient supplies for 20 days, but the electricity supply is not so good. In a few days it will be necessary to introduce restrictions. There is no difficulty with regard to water supplies. . . . Great difficulties have arisen concerning garbage collection. . . . As regards food supplies of the capital, the situation is good. Ninety percent of the food shops and restaurants are open. The country is giving large-scale assistance to the Budapest population."

## Radio Free Gyor

1910 "The delegation of the Revolutionary Council of the Technical University, which visited the Petofi Mine, sends the following message to workers of the Petofi Mine: 'We have transmitted your demands to Imre Nagy and he approves them. He requests that the heroic miners continue their productive work and support the revolution by providing the coal needed for supplying Budapest with electric power. . . .'"

1910 "The National Council of Gyor has ordered that every consignment [of goods] must be sent to Budapest in a locked freight car in order to stop abuses connected with foreign aid."

## Radio Free Miskolc

2230 Proclamation of the Borsod student parliament to the extraordinary session of the UN:

"The Hungarian people greeted with great satisfaction

<sup>5</sup> Bechtler, a Social Democrat, was Deputy Mayor of Budapest in 1946-48; in 1950 he was jailed by the regime, and only recently rehabilitated.

Premier Nagy's announcement asking UN [action] in placing Hungary's cause at the [top] of the UN agenda. The

Borsod student parliament supports Premier Nagy's request."

## Friday, November 2, 1956

*Hungarian government protests to the Soviet Embassy the re-entry of Soviet troops on Hungarian soil. The United Nations is notified of Soviet activities in the second official note within two days, and is requested to appeal to the great powers to recognize Hungarian neutrality.*

*Soviet troops take rail line from Zahony to Nyiregyhaza; hold Budapest International Airport, and Kalocsa Airfield.*

*United Hungarian Youth Federation is organized in Budapest.*

### — Morning

#### Radio Free Kossuth

0330 APPEAL by the National Organization Committee of the Hungarian University Youth Association:

"Hungarian youth! We established the United Hungarian Youth Federation yesterday. We reject the restoration of the Horthy regime. The United Hungarian Youth Association is a youth organization independent of parties, including in its ranks the working, studying and peasant youth. We do not agree with the establishment of youth organizations by various parties. . . ."

0400 Appeal by Sandor Kelen, member of the leadership of the national central office of the Hungarian Peasant Association:

"Peasants, Hungarians, brothers! With the revolution of this autumn of 1956 we have taken freedom into our own hands and we have taken over poverty as well. The past years have made all peasants equal—equally poor. . . . You must not forget that the Peasant Association is no political party, but an organization defending the interests of the entire Hungarian peasantry. It defends and fosters their economic, social and spiritual interests. We defend the interests of the individual as well as cooperative peasantry or peasants working on State farms and in machine tractor stations [MTS]. . . . Delegations to the Hungarian Peasant Federation have arrived in the capital from all over the country. . . ."

0626 "Dear listeners. . . . Wednesday, at midnight, Minister of State Bela Kovacs made the following statement to Radio Free Kossuth:

"'Approximately two or three hours ago I joined the work of the national government. In this historic situation, I consider it necessary to tell my people, without delay, that our government truly, and with full responsibility, represents the interests of our country. I declare with sincere pleasure that the government has been making, and continues to make, all possible efforts for the settlement of our international relations, for the further development,

maintenance and strengthening of the present friendly relations. In order to solve the difficult foreign political tasks we must establish national unity, peace and order in our country. Further, it is necessary and of vital importance that, since our peasantry is working in the fields for our next year's bread, industrial workers should also begin production without delay.'"

0835 "Throughout Heves County [northeast of Budapest] the situation is relatively quiet and calm. Plowing and sowing went on yesterday in all the villages, and in nearly every village collections were made to help feed the population of Budapest. Every day some 10 to 20 food trucks are sent to Budapest. The radio speech made last night by Imre Nagy was received with pleasure throughout the country. The people are glad that at last the government is actively proving that it is truly at the head of the revolution and is carrying out the people's demands. Now the Soviet response to the declaration is awaited and the people in the county want the country to be informed of events quickly. The organization of the new democratic parties began yesterday throughout the country. In Bekescsaba [town in southeast], too, the announcement made by Imre Nagy was received with pleasure. The strike continues. Shops, however, are reopening and teaching is being resumed in the schools."

0900 Report on the demands made by a delegation of 28 members of the workers' council of Borsod-Abaуй-Zemplen County who visited Imre Nagy and Zoltan Tildy:

"The government must set up a national revolutionary committee . . . to replace the old parliament, which should then be considered dissolved. The government should concentrate all its energy on establishing legal order and calm in the country. . . . It should seek the support of the Army, the police, the armed workers and our young people. This is only possible if we do not concentrate our attention mainly on the organization of parties and on party bickerings, because this might lead to a loosening of national unity. . . ."

"We will not return the land to the landlords, nor the factories to the capitalists, nor the mines to the mining barons, nor the army command to the Horthyist generals."

0945 An appeal read by Miklos Szakats and Tibor Molnar on behalf of the Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian Actors:

" . . . The declaration of Imre Nagy, then the statements of Cardinal Primate Mindszenty, Bishop Laszlo Ravasz and Bela Kovacs of immaculate record, and Colonel Pal' Malete, one of the insurgent heroes, and the appeal of the workers' councils of the major Budapest factories, have all gone to show that a national unity is evolving in fact and not merely in words. We, too, want to be the spokesmen of this unity. At this moment our Revolutionary Committee is sending to the radio our best actors and actresses. . . . We appeal to all Hungarian theatrical artists . . . to join immediately in the work of the broadcasting studios. . . ."

1050 "Important announcement: The Revolutionary Committee of the Pest County Produce Marketing Enterprise calls on depot managers and workers who handle goods to cooperate with the local Revolutionary Committees and assure the protection of State reserves. . . . In order to insure our bread supplies for next year, the distribution of seeds for sowing should continue. . . ."

1100 Appeal from the All-Hungarian National Committee to the National Committees of the counties, districts, towns and villages:

"The most important task for the moment is to resume work everywhere. The government has fulfilled the demands of the insurgent nation. With its reported instructions, the government did what it could for the people and the revolution. We endanger the victory of our revolution if we do not start work immediately. If the miners do not deliver coal, the country will lack electric power. . . . Also our stores must not run out of provisions. . . . This is, today, the order of the revolution, of our future and of circumspect reflection. Speak to the workers' councils in the plants and factories, persuade them to take up production for the sake of our people and the revolution. . . ."

"Because of the transport strike, the life blood of Budapest cannot start circulating. If the workers of the streetcar enterprise would only start to work they could soon achieve good results. . . ."

"The Revolutionary Committee of Traffic Workers summons all traffic workers to start work on the basis of the agreement concluded with the government."

\* \* \*

News report from the station's Vienna correspondent:

"Yesterday, November 1st, the meeting of the Socialist International opened. Anna Kethly was received with enthusiastic cheers. In her speech Anna Kethly declared that not she but the heroic Hungarian freedom fighters deserve the cheers. 'I don't think,' she said, 'that ever in the history of the world such a heroic and determined fight has taken place as the one now being waged in Hun-

gary.' She also declared that the Social Democrats will not participate in Hungarian elections as long as Soviet troops are stationed in Hungary."

\* \* \*

Press review— *Magyar Honved*, the Army paper:

"From Czechoslovakia and Romania we heard unworthy commentaries about our people and our victorious revolution. . . . *Rude Pravo*, the official paper of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, had a sinister warning for us: the Hungarian people will have to pay for these days. Why do these papers condemn us? . . . [Soviet First Deputy Premier] Mikoyan and [Soviet Politburo member] Suslov have been in Hungary for the last few days and could personally see what really happened in Budapest. We advise the Romanian and Czechoslovak papers that wrote in an unworthy tone about our revolution to send their correspondents to Budapest and to the other towns and villages of the country to check thoroughly what really happened in Hungary."

" . . . [Imre Nagy and Ferenc Erdei were asked] whether Matyas Rakosi has been granted the right of asylum in the Soviet Union or has simply fled over the border. The leaders of the government answered that . . . Hungary will ask for the extradition of Rakosi . . . according to international law and will bring him to trial. Then it will be seen whether he has been granted the right of asylum or whether he has simply fled."

1115 Article in *Nepakaral*, organ of the Federation of Free Hungarian Trade Unions, describing the Rakosi villa: "There were brilliant bathrooms fitted out with gymnastic apparatus and . . . literally drawersful of vitamin pills. . . . A new radio-phonograph . . . two pianos . . . and brilliant white telephones in every room . . . thick Dutch cigars . . . liqueurs, wines and champagne. . . . An immense portrait of Stalin sneers at us. . . ."

\* \* \*

A broadcast in Russian appealing to the Russian troops to stop fighting and leave the country.

1135 Appeal to miners and power industry workers from Dr. Ferenc Kassai, President of the Temporary Revolutionary Committee of the Mining and Power Ministries: "The general strike must be discontinued immediately, especially in coal mining. . . ."

## Radio Free Györ

0800 Long newscast containing the following items:

A brief report on demonstrations and incidents in Bucharest, Romania.

A report on a meeting of Polish students at Poznan on October 30, in which they expressed their sympathy with the struggle of the Hungarian people for freedom.

A report on Cardinal Mindszenty's return to Budapest and his statements.

An announcement by the Revolutionary Committee of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry repeating previous proposals.

An announcement of the Hungarian National Trade

Unions asking the workers to elect new factory committees by secret ballot where the old committees are not representative.

A brief review of foreign press and radio comment, con-

taining two items: some direct quotations from Radio Free Europe broadcasts to Hungary and excerpts from an editorial in the Vienna *Die Presse* for November 1 on Hungary.

## Friday, November 2, 1956 – Afternoon

### Radio Free Kossuth

1315 "ATTENTION, attention! We are going to read an important announcement:

"This morning at 11 o'clock [1000 GMT] in the house of parliament the presidium of the large-scale enterprises, the Revolutionary Committee of University Students of Budapest, the Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian Intelligentsia, the Executive Committee of the Hungarian Free Trade Unions and representatives of the national government met to discuss the political and economic situation of the national revolution. On the basis of these discussions it was found necessary to convene tonight at eight o'clock [1900 GMT] in the Builders' House, Gyoergy Dozsa Street, one or two representatives from each of the Revolutionary Workers' Councils of Budapest's large-scale enterprises. Also present at the conference will be representatives of the Revolutionary Committee of University Students, the Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian Intelligentsia and the Revolutionary Army Council. Admittance only by written credentials."

1400 Communiqué from the Ministry of Health:

"The events of the last week have affected the conditions of public health. . . . Strict compliance with the requirements of public as well as individual cleanliness is important. The Budapest cleaning enterprise has been given instructions for trash clearance. Due to the accumulation of vast quantities of trash and refuse, the enterprise can carry out its tasks only with difficulty. The help of the population is needed. Wherever possible, trash should be buried or burned."

1410 Announcement that Premier Nagy has appointed Dr. Zoltan Zseboek Hungarian government Commissioner for the Red Cross.

\* \* \*

"The gates of the political prison in Szolnok were opened yesterday. The 600 former political prisoners and the government delegates sang the National Anthem together in front of the national flag as a demonstration of united support for the government. The wrongly-convicted political prisoners have already returned to their homes."

\* \* \*

Announcement that the Hungarian Independence Party was reconstituted on October 31. The party's objectives: peace in Hungary; Hungarian independence; and freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion, culture and choice of employment.

1412 Appeal from the Revolutionary Council of the Hungarian State Railways: "Railwaymen, we call on you to take up your service immediately and to help in the immediate commencement of railway traffic. Work began this morning in the iron works and in the Lang Machine Factory in Csepel."

\* \* \*

"The Revolutionary Council of the Budapest Customs Officials states in a resolution that the Hungarian fight for freedom is won. . . . It asks Imre Nagy to remove from government all those persons who were guilty during the Rakosi reign of tyranny."

1505 "Changes will be made in the composition of the national government very shortly, possibly during the course of the day. Ministers who have lost the confidence of the population will be removed. . . ."

1525 From the Minister of the Interior: "All persons on leave from the police, air defense and fire brigade of the central police headquarters in Budapest should report immediately to their units."

1618 "Hungarian Jewry, having regained its religious freedom, enthusiastically salutes the achievements of the revolution, pays reverent homage to the heroes and identifies itself with the independent and free homeland. Hungarian Jewry appeals to Jewish organizations abroad to give quick and effective material help to the long-suffering Hungarian people."

"Signed: The Budapest Corps of Rabbis, the National Office of Hungarian Jews and the temporary Revolutionary Committee of the Jewish community in Budapest."

1645 Broadcast of a speech by Dr. Lajos Ordass, Bishop of the Southern Lutheran Church District and Chairman of the Hungarian Evangelical Theological Academy. [Bishop Ordass spoke successively in Hungarian, German and English, addressing listeners at home and abroad.] To foreign listeners:

"The national government has declared the neutrality of our country and I should like to ask you to give us any possible help to obtain recognition for this declaration. . . . Our freedom fight has taken many lives. There are many who have lost their family support and many who were wounded in the fighting. These need medicine. I ask you in the name of Jesus Christ to help us. . . ."

1700 Appeal from the Hungarian PEN Club to writers of the world:

"We ask them to take time and trouble to find the most

effective means for giving help to the cause of liberty. We ask them to warn public opinion in the whole world that the violation of our newly-won independence and neutrality would lead to a terrible catastrophe. Our fate is not only a political question, it is a matter of life and death. . . ."

"Signed by the President of the Hungarian PEN Club, Jozsef Kepes."

### Radio Free Kossuth, in French to Europe

1300 "Laszlo Ravasz, Calvinist bishop, has been restored as head of the diocese of the Danube district. The weekly, *Az Ut*, is to cease publication and its place will be taken by a new Protestant weekly, *Reformacio*, under the direction of Bishop Ravasz. Janos Peter, Bishop of the Trans-Tisza region, has been asked to resign, as has Bishop Albert Bereczky, particularly in view of his present grave illness. Several of the lay leaders have also resigned. In a broadcast statement, Bishop Ravasz has said: 'The reformed Church of Hungary renders homage and admiration to the heroes of the national insurrection. . . . The Church is proud of the purity of this revolution. . . . It is with humility that we have to confess that the Church, as a temporal institution, had become more committed than she was forced to do by the error and cunning of political power to which she is vitally opposed. She asks for the help of all the world's Christian Churches and in particular the brotherly help of the World Council of Churches and of the World Presbyterian Alliance so that she may follow the true road which she has again discovered. . . . Let nobody think of a restoration of the regime of past eras.'"

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"Most of this morning's papers note with pleasure the declaration of the Chinese government concerning the just



Wide World Photo

Hungarian rebel holds up a home-made Molotov cocktail at the Hegyeshalom border station. This cocktail is made by tying a potato-masher type grenade to a bottle filled with gasoline.

claims of the Polish and Hungarian peoples. . . . *Nepakarat*, organ of the Federation of Free Hungarian Trade Unions, carries an article on foreign policy approving the appeal broadcast yesterday by Imre Nagy. It says: 'As of today we are no longer the tool of a colonialism disguised as Socialism, nor a figure on the chessboard of any conqueror. . . . We are extending a friendly hand toward the peoples, also to our neighbors in neutral Austria and to the free Yugoslavia which remains outside any bloc, toward Romania, Czechoslovakia and toward the people of the Soviet Union. We hope that their governments will understand the thirst for freedom and national life of our little nation. In these decisive hours this is the message we address to the whole world and all its peoples who love freedom. . . .' *Nepszava*, organ of the Social Democratic Party . . . says: 'In 1948 the Hungarian Social Democratic Party was forcibly buried. Hundreds of its leaders were put in prison. Thousands of others were arbitrarily interned, while those who devoted their whole life to the sacred cause of humanity and the defense of justice for the poor were treated as common traitors. Many of them died in prison. But we are reborn again. . . . Let us take in hand again, as we did in Budapest, those trade union organizations which had been taken away from us. . . . Let our fighting peasants join their forces in order to frustrate all attempts for the reconstruction of the large estates. . . . Let us defend our hard-won freedom and let us build a neutral and democratic Hungary.'"

1600 Directives of the Ministry of Education:

"All history books used at present in general and secondary schools are to be withdrawn; Soviet literature is no longer to be taught; the compulsory teaching of the Russian language is to cease; the Russo-Hungarian 'Maxim Gorky' school is to close; . . . religious instruction is to be given to all who ask for it."

### Radio Free Gyor

1630 "Reflections about our situation:

"Imre Nagy's government, though not all its members, enjoys the confidence of the people. There are some reservations regarding this government: the nation demands the removal of some of its members and, let us add, demands it with justification. However, the nation and Imre Nagy have attained a common denominator. . . . Then why are the Soviet forces here? What is more, why are more Soviet forces arriving in Hungary? . . . The very fact that they are here irritates the people and creates the impression that the Soviet Union is not greatly inclined to recognize the Hungarian people's inalienable right to their independence and freedom. . . . Life is slowly returning to normal but there will be complete reassurance and contentment only when the last Soviet soldier says goodbye to Hungary. . . ."

1645 Discusses an interview with Colonel Pal Maletz published in the November 1 issue of "Truth, Revolutionary Army and Youth." [See Radio Free Kossuth, 0908, Nov. 1.]

# Friday, November 2, 1956 – Night

## Radio Free Kossuth

**1811** APPEAL from the National Council, the Command of the United Armed Forces and the Revolutionary Council of the Chief Attorney's Office:

“ . . . Crimes against the State have to be punished. However, this accounting should be left to the organs of legal jurisdiction precisely in order to preserve the revolutionary purity of our fight. . . . Therefore, we call on the revolutionary organs of the country to take determined measures against every kind of arbitrariness that may be found. The culprits should be handed over to the local Army or legal authorities. They will see to it that the culprits are called to account as soon as possible. . . . ”

**1820** “The Hungarian government addressed three verbal notes to the Soviet Embassy in Budapest today. The first note reminds the Soviet Embassy that the Hungarian government asked the Soviet government last week to begin immediate negotiations for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. At that time the Soviet government received this proposal with approval, and the Soviet Ambassador made a similar statement during his visit to the Hungarian Premier. Despite the aforementioned discussions, says the verbal note, new Soviet formations regrettably crossed the Hungarian frontiers on October 31 and November 1.

“The Hungarian government has exerted the greatest possible efforts to obtain the withdrawal of these troops. Its steps, however, have proved to be in vain. Indeed, the Soviet troops continued their advance and some units took up positions around Budapest. Because of this the Hungarian government repudiated the Warsaw Pact on November 1, 1956. In the view of the Hungarian government, Hungarian-Soviet relations must be based on respect for Hungarian neutrality and on the principles of complete equality, sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. In order to achieve this, the Hungarian government proposes that immediate negotiations, held on the basis of the above-mentioned principles, should begin between the representatives of the Hungarian and the Soviet governments about implementing the repudiation of the Warsaw Pact, with special regard to the withdrawal, without delay, of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. The members of the Hungarian government delegation are Geza Losonczy, Minister of State and head of the delegation, Jozsef Kovago, Andras Marton, Ferenc Farkas and Vilmos Zentai.<sup>1</sup>

“The second note deals with the military aspects of the same problem, and proposes that the mixed committee charged with preparing the withdrawal of Soviet troops should begin its work on November 2, that is, immediately,

<sup>1</sup> Geza Losonczy is a Communist follower of Nagy; Jozsef Kovago represents the Smallholders' Party; Marton the Army; Ferenc Farkas the National Peasant Party; Vilmos Zentai the Social Democratic Party.

in the building of the Hungarian parliament. The Hungarian government has nominated the following members to the preparatory mixed committee: Ferenc Erdei, Minister of State, Major General Pal Malete, Major General Istvan Kovacs and Colonel Miklos Szucs.

“The third verbal note contains another protest against the military movements of Soviet troops in Hungary. It points out, once again, that new Soviet troops crossed the frontier on November 2, that is, today, and have occupied railway lines and railway stations on the way. In western Hungary Soviet troop movements can be observed in an East-West direction. . . . ”

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“To Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of the United Nations, New York:

“Your Excellency, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic wishes . . . to bring the following supplementary information to the knowledge of Your Excellency:

“I have already mentioned in my message of November 1 that new Soviet military formations had entered Hungary, that the Hungarian government had informed the Soviet Ambassador about this, that it had repudiated the Warsaw Pact, that it had declared Hungary's neutrality and had turned to the United Nations to guarantee the neutrality of the country. On November 2 the government of the Hungarian People's Republic received new important information, Army reports, according to which considerable Soviet military formations have crossed the country's frontier. They are advancing toward Budapest, occupying railway lines, railway stations, railway traffic installations and so forth on their way. Reports have also been received about Soviet troop movements, in an East-West direction, in western Hungary.

“In view of the above-mentioned facts the Hungarian government deems it necessary to inform the Soviet Embassy in Budapest and the other diplomatic missions accredited to Budapest about the steps directed against our People's Republic. The Hungarian government has at the same time made concrete proposals to the Soviet government concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary, and the place for negotiations concerning implementation of the repudiation of the Warsaw Pact, and has also communicated the names of the Hungarian governmental delegation. In addition to this, the Hungarian government has proposed to the Soviet Embassy in Budapest the setting up of a mixed committee to prepare for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

“I ask Your Excellency to call on the Great Powers to recognize Hungary's neutrality. The Security Council should instruct the Soviet and the Hungarian governments to begin negotiations immediately. I ask Your Excellency to inform the members of the Security Council about the above facts, and to accept the expression of my sincere esteem.

"Signed: Imre Nagy, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Acting Foreign Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic."

1945 "A picture of the streets in Budapest: . . . Traffic is lively. Restaurants and espressos are all open. The newspaper vendors shout twenty different newspaper headlines. . . . There are more people in the streets than usual, for some of the workers are not yet back in their factories. The great thing is that more and more factories are starting work. One after the other, the great plants—Ganz, Lang, etc.—announce that they have started up. Streetcars are already running. . . . There are still sporadic bits of bad news, such as Soviet moves. Then too, somewhere in Buda, there was shooting during the night. We do not know who was firing at whom."

2104 "The Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian Intelligentsia, in conjunction with the Hungarian Writers' Union, today sent to the World Peace Council, in care of M. Joliot-Curie, in Paris, the following telegram:

"The entire Hungarian people has manifested, in full unity, its will to adhere to its national independence and to the restoration of its sovereignty, to insist on the soonest possible evacuation of Soviet forces from the entire country. The fulfillment of these demands is an important pledge for the maintenance of peace in Eastern Europe. The Revolutionary Committee . . . in conjunction with the . . . Writers' Union, requests the Peace Council to convoke an immediate conference, to be held in Vienna, on this matter. . . ."

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"Foreign News: Today President Eisenhower offered 20 million dollars' worth of food and other relief to the Hungarian revolutionaries, according to the Associated Press."

2240 "The Writers' Union has started to collect money in an unusual manner. This morning, at the most important points in Budapest, huge signs were put up and a genuine 1000 *forint* note stuck on them. . . . Under the sign an empty ammunition box was placed and was being



Wide World Photo

A mother lights a candle beside the flag-covered body of her son in Budapest's Republic Square on November 1, All Saints' Day. In the background are the bodies of two members of the security police. All three were killed in the fighting of the previous day.

filled with money. . . . No one guards it. . . . During the afternoon, in only a few hours, the population of Budapest donated 110,000 *forint* for the families of the martyrs of the revolution."

2300 Appeal from Istvan Szabo, chairman of the workers' council of the Budapest railroad station, to all railroad workers asking them to begin work in the morning.

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Account of an interview given by Major General Pal Maleter, Deputy Minister of Defense, to correspondents of Western newspapers:

"Replying to the questions of the correspondents, Major General Pal Maleter made extremely important political statements. First of all, he informed the foreign journalists that according to military reconnaissance reports, new Soviet troops had entered Hungarian territory during the past few days: ' . . . Our Army, however, has weapons, and if necessary it can defend itself against the intruders. In the interest of maintaining order we stand behind the national government, behind Imre Nagy and Zoltan Tildy. But the Army makes its further support of the government dependent on whether the government fulfills its promise and resigns from the Warsaw Pact.'

"Q: 'What negotiations has the government entered into . . . ?'

"A: 'Zoltan Tildy conferred on Wednesday with Mr. Mikoyan, who promised that those troops which are in Hungary on grounds other than the Warsaw Pact will be withdrawn from the country.'

"Q: 'Does this mean that the . . . Warsaw Pact troops will remain?'

"A: 'This is out of the question. Tildy has informed Mikoyan that we shall repudiate the Warsaw Pact in any case, and our government demanded that negotiations in this respect begin as soon as possible.'

"Q: 'What will happen to those troops now entering Hungary?'

"A: 'Naturally we shall regard them as being outside the Warsaw Pact and shall treat them accordingly. I must, however, declare that the people of Hungary are mature enough not to regard tardiness . . . as an act of provocation. Nevertheless, we shall not lay down our arms before national independence has won complete victory.'

"The journalists then asked Maleter to speak about the insurrection, the battles, and relations between the insurgents and the Army.

"A: 'This insurrection was not organized by anybody. The insurrection broke out because the Hungarian people wanted peace, tranquillity, freedom and independence, to which the foreign occupiers replied with weapons. At the beginning of the struggle single groups, independent of each other, attacked the intruders without any sort of weapons and achieved their success with the weapons thus obtained. Hungarian youth made its own weapons.'

"Maleter then showed such a weapon. It was an ordinary siphon bottle with two 15-centimeter ribbons hanging from the top. The siphon was filled with gasoline, saturating the ribbons. With such siphon bottles many

Russian steel monsters were rendered harmless. The burning gasoline, flowing from the siphons, set the tanks on fire and burned them out.

"Q: 'Please tell us something about your part in the battles.'

"A: 'In the early hours of last Wednesday I received an order from the then Minister of Defense to set out with five tanks against insurgents in the Eighth and Ninth Districts, and to relieve the Kilian Barracks. When I arrived at the spot I became convinced that the freedom fighters were not bandits, but loyal sons of the Hungarian people. So I informed the Minister that I would go over to the insurgents. Ever since we have been fighting together, and shall not end the struggle so long as a single armed foreigner remains in Hungary.'

"After the interview the correspondent of *Magyar Honved* talked with a Swiss journalist. . . . The Swiss journalist said: 'We know that at present Hungary stands at the edge of a volcano's crater. . . . Ever since Tito took a stand against Soviet imperialism in 1948 the West has been understanding even toward those Communists who fought for their nations' freedom. We hope the Hungarian people will be able to consolidate their victory.'"

### Radio Free Kossuth, in French to Europe

2300 "Further information has reached us on Friday regarding the movements of Soviet units in Hungary, especially in the eastern counties. On Friday morning two Soviet armored trains entered the frontier station of Zahony. After occupying this station the Soviet troops are reported to have taken over the line from Zahony to Nyiregyhaza. According to the Miskolc University radio station, during the night of Thursday to Friday a large armored unit arrived in the village of Kisvarda. Debrecen also announces the uninterrupted transit of Soviet troops. Coming from the east, units of tanks and automatic machine guns have been in transit through Szolnok in a westerly direction. In the opposite direction only supply cars were seen to pass. Between Szolnok and Abony, where some 200 tanks had entrenched themselves for several days, these have now left their position in a westerly direction. The MTI [official press service] office at Szolnok denies the report that Soviet troops have occupied the airport of the town. Soviet formations are stationed around the airport but they have not yet tried to take possession of it. Even at Pecs the airport has not been occupied. On Thursday and Friday battalions of tanks arrived in the area of Gyoengyocs and entrenched themselves there. Soviet troops are camping in the Nagyrede area. In none of the above mentioned places has a single Soviet soldier camped for the past few years. A Soviet armored corps stationed near Dombovar has surrounded the airport of Taszar, a few kilometers from Kaposvar. Soviet troop reconnaissance scouts have advanced as far as the suburbs of Kaposvar. There were no incidents. In the evening the arrival of some 20 Soviet trucks was announced, carrying infantry from Zahony to Nyiregyhaza. At Berghsurany some 50 motorized artillery batteries have crossed the Hungarian-Soviet frontier."

## Radio Free Miskolc

1800 "This is the radio of the workers' council in Szabolcs-Szatmar County, Nyiregyhaza. It is All Souls' Day." [Speeches by church dignitaries, made almost unintelligible by very strong jamming.] ". . . Do you hear my words, Imre Nagy? You too have been taught by your mother to speak in Hungarian, and if you love your country for which so much blood has already been shed, become purified with the new Hungarian ideas. . . . We are bearing arms and we shall not put them down as long as there is a single Soviet soldier in our country."

2200 "This is the radio of the National Council of North and East Hungary. Dear listeners, you will now hear a speech delivered by the President of the National Council of Counties Borsod, Abauj and Zemplen, Jozsef Kiss." [The speaker recites the demands made by the delegation of 28 when they visited Nagy and Tildy the day before.]

"This afternoon, at a meeting of the workers' council, a discontinuation of the strike was decided upon. . . . The

continuation of the strike would not enable us to hinder the Soviet Army's stay in our country. We must hinder their stay by not giving them food, and by not giving fuel and accommodations to them."

## Radio Free Györ

1830 "Railway traffic was resumed on certain lines Friday. . . . At present, shunting has started with five locomotives at Ferencvaros [in Budapest], the country's biggest railway yard. The formation of trains has started at the [name unintelligible] on the bank of the Danube and at the Rakos railway yard. The first train carrying medicines arrived from Hegyeshalom at the Kelenfoeld [Budapest] station Friday at noon. Reports from Miskolc state that traffic has been resumed also in the area of the railway directorate in Miskolc. Railway workers are striving to insure that as many workers' trains as possible are operating Saturday at dawn, especially in mining and industrial regions. . . ."

# Saturday, November 3, 1956

*Considerable Soviet reinforcements and troop movements to the Austro-Hungarian border are reported. Russian tanks surround uranium mines at Pecs.*

*The Hungarian government is reorganized after resignation of most of its ministers. The new ministers, many of them non-Communists, take over the administration. New cabinet includes: Imre Nagy, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zoltan Tildy, Istvan Bibo, Anna Kethly, Ferenc Farkas, Geza Losonczy, and Janos Kadar\* as Ministers of State, and Pal Maleter, Minister of Defense.*

*Negotiations for withdrawal of Soviet troops continue, and further Soviet troop movements are reported.*

*Cardinal Mindszenty addresses the people.*

*The National Council of Dunapentele appeals to all free radio stations to broadcast to Soviet troops in Russian to counteract Soviet propaganda.*

## —Morning

### Radio Free Kossuth

0900 "APPEAL by the Revolutionary Committee of University Students:

"Hungarians, our glorious revolution is far from over. The danger has not passed. The unanimous demand of the Hungarian people and the repeated declarations of our government have not met with satisfactory response in all quarters. Soviet troops have not yet begun to withdraw from our country's territory. Therefore we must be alert. We must be forged into a unity as firm as that hammered out in the days of the revolution.

"Let us put aside party strife which leads to the division of national strength. University youth calls on every political party and group to lay aside its narrow party in-

\* Kadar, however, announced on November 4 that he had broken with the Nagy government on November 1.

terests until the victory of the revolution and the national struggle for freedom is achieved, and to put all their strength into the struggle for the consolidation of our national unity and defensive potential. Only the united efforts of all Hungarians can attain and preserve the independence and freedom of Hungary."

0910 "According to information received from Ferihegy Airport [Budapest], a message has been received from Prague announcing the arrival here this morning of an aircraft carrying 16 UN delegates."

0915 "The temporary executive committee of the Independent Smallholders' Party supports the Hungarian national government with all its strength. This government has in days of crisis furnished historic proof that it represents the universal interests of the Hungarian people. The temporary executive committee assures it of solidarity.

[Signed]: Members of the Independent Smallholders' Party participating in the government: Zoltan Tildy, Bela Kovacs, Istvan Szabo."

\* \* \*

"Members of the State security police are reporting to the prosecutor's office *en masse*, asking to be arrested. In the 13th and Angyalfold Districts in Budapest, early this morning, 30 former security policemen reported. The situation is similar in other districts."

0930 Press review. *Nepszava* asks that work and production be resumed:

"Children are hungry, clothing and shoes wearing out, fuel is getting scarce, gas and electricity are getting weaker. The hospitals with all the wounded are endangered. . . . If the country is paralyzed, if its economy runs down, if it loses strength, it will be more exposed than ever before to the resumption of the Stalinist, Rakosiist tyranny. We certainly do not want this to happen; we cannot allow this to happen. It demonstrates great political wisdom that almost every worker in Csepel, workers of the Mavag, of the Ganz Electrical Works, of the Ganz Car Factory . . . and several other big factories, most railroad men and construction workers, have decided to resume work because the continuation of the strike would paralyze the country's economy and would weaken us, not the enemy."

## Radio Free Györ

0800 Report that Soviet military forces are moving west through Trans-Danubia.

1100 "A telegram was sent to Soviet composers by [Hungarian composer] Zoltan Kodaly: . . . he requested the Soviet composers to plead with their government for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary."

1105 "The newspaper *Igazság* [Truth] yesterday asked the Revolutionary Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs three questions. The questions were: 1. Is it true that the Hungarian delegate at the UN, who played such an ignominious role, was actually Leo Konduktorov, Soviet oil engineer? 2. Is it true that Konduktorov was given the new name of Dr. Peter Kos by the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs? 3. Why is it that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not inform the nation of these facts when Konduktorov's assignment had become known?"

"This morning the Revolutionary Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave the following answers: It is true that Peter Kos is in reality a Soviet citizen and his name is Leo Konduktorov. It is true that the former leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs participated in the renaming of Konduktorov. The Revolutionary Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs further stated that before Imre Nagy's declaration it had demanded the immediate cancellation of Peter Kos' appointment. Meanwhile, the Revolutionary Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has prepared a proposal for the immediate removal of the Rakosiist and Stalinist diplomats. Necessary steps have already been taken for the recall of certain officials in the diplomatic service. . . ."



Wide World

Hungarian patriots erect a barricade of cobblestones in a Budapest street on November 4.

1130 Press review:

" . . . The *Nepszabadság* editorial says that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' [Communist] Party has been formed under difficult circumstances. The majority of the former Party organs has been disbanded . . . the situation is difficult. If we want to reorganize our resources, we must take a most energetic stand against the criminal leadership of the Hungarian Workers' Party. We must not and we will not admit to membership people who were directly responsible for devising and directing the policy which led to catastrophe . . . we will not become a party of a million members, we shall work more modestly than before. . . . We take a most resolute stand against every attempt to restore in Hungary the rule of landowners, capitalists and mining tycoons, and we take a most resolute stand for the maintenance of every achievement which proved correct and useful for the community. . . . We approve of the Imre Nagy declaration advocating the neutrality of our country and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country's entire territory. We consider the resumption of work an urgent necessity because the strike is no longer in the interest of the nation but in that of the forces striving against the independence of the nation."

## Radio Free Szombathely

0800 Report of reinforcement of Soviet troops in Hungary:

"Most of the troops are being concentrated around Budapest. General Pal Maleter announced that last Wednesday [Soviet First Deputy Premier] Mikoyan promised . . . that Soviet forces still garrisoned on Hungarian soil under the Warsaw Pact would be withdrawn. On the other hand, Radio Budapest [Radio Free Kossuth] announced that on his latest visit to Budapest, Mikoyan said that all Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Hungary except those which are to remain under the Warsaw Pact."

Report that the Austro-Hungarian frontier has been closed off by Soviet troops.

"According to the reports of our people . . . about 200 Soviet tanks are lined up on the Tisza River [runs north

to south in eastern Hungary] facing westward."

More reports of Soviet tank, artillery and infantry reinforcements entering Hungary, occupying airfields and railroad stations.

## Saturday, November 3, 1956—Afternoon

### Radio Free Kossuth

1230 "THE PRESIDENTIAL Council of the People's Republic, in the interest of the broadening and consolidation of the national government, has appointed: Anna Kethly, Minister of State; Gyula Kecmen, Minister of State; Jozsef Fischer, Minister of State; Istvan B. Szabo, Minister of State; Istvan Bibo, Minister of State; Ferenc Farkas, Minister of State; Pal Malete, Minister of Defense.<sup>1</sup>

"At the same time, the Presidential Council of the People's Republic has accepted the requests of the following to be relieved from their posts, and does so relieve them: Imre Horvath, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ferenc Munnich, Minister of the Interior; Karoly Janza, Minister of Defense; Istvan Kossa, Minister of Finance; Eric Molnar, Minister of Justice; Janos Csergoe, Minister of Metallurgy and Engineering Industry; Sandor Czottner, Minister of Mining and Power; Gergely Szabo, Minister of Chemical Industries; Mrs. Jozsef Nagy, Minister of Light Industry; Ferenc Nezval, Minister of Urban and Rural Economy; Miklos Ribianszky, Minister of State Farms; Jozsef Bognar, Minister of Foreign Trade; Rezso Nyers, Minister of Food Industry; Antal Gyenes, Minister of Ingathering [produce collection]; Antal Apro, Minister of Building; Gyorgy Csanady, Minister of Communications and Postal Affairs; Gyorgy Lukacs, Minister of People's Culture; Albert Konya, Minister of Education; Antal Babits, Minister of Health.

"The resignations of Antal Apro, Jozsef Bognar and Ferenc Erdei from their posts as Deputy Premiers have also been accepted.

"With the exception of the Foreign Affairs and Defense portfolios, the Presidential Council leaves all ministerial portfolios vacant. The Presidential Council will instead appoint deputy ministers to run the ministries concerned. . . .

"On the basis of the above decisions, the composition of the national government is as follows: Imre Nagy, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Zoltan Tildy, Minister of State; Bela Kovacs, Minister of State; Istvan B. Szabo, Minister of State; Anna Kethly, Minister of State; Gyula Kecmen, Minister of State; Jozsef Fischer, Minister of State; Istvan Bibo, Minister of State; Ferenc Farkas, Minister of State; Geza Losonczy, Minister of State; Janos Kadar, Minister of State, Pal Malete, Minister of Defense."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, p. 111, for Party affiliations.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix, p. 111, for Party affiliations.

1310 "Hungary's representatives will shortly appear in the United Nations to inform world public opinion and the world organization about the present situation and the circumstances which have emerged as a result of the revolution in Hungary. . . . The government has declared the country's neutrality. This involves not only the rights but also the duties of neutrality. . . . We must insure, therefore, that as a neutral country we establish the neutrality of our foreign policy and information services. Essentially, we want to maintain friendly relations, on the basis of equality, first of all with our neighbors but naturally with other countries of the world as well.

"The further shaping of the Hungarian situation depends, beside the discussions taking place in the UN, to a decisive degree on the Hungarian-Soviet negotiations which are to begin very shortly. It is indispensable that a properly calm atmosphere be established in regard to these negotiations. The cause of the exceptional deterioration of Hungarian-Soviet relations lies in the fact that the Gerö-Hegedus clique called Soviet troops into the Hungarian capital. The Hungarian revolution is not directed against the Soviet Union as a State; its main objective is to assure the withdrawal of Soviet forces. This must be clarified by all means.

"At the same time, Hungarian youth, the sons and daughters of workers, peasants and intellectuals, did not shed their blood in order to open a road to Fascism. The overwhelming weight of Hungarian public opinion sees the result of the revolution as the establishment of a neutral, independent and democratic country, and just as it was ready to sweep out Stalinist tyranny, so it will protect with the same determination and firmness its regained democratic achievements against all kinds of irresponsible incitements.

"Neutrality also involves the duty of putting an end to the manhunt in our country, and of using calm and dignified language in connection with our neighbors. We understand the anxiety of our Polish and Yugoslav friends for the future of the Hungarian revolution. We can set their minds at rest, however, because after the transitory disorders the situation has been for the most part consolidated. . . ."

1325 "Resolution of the Revolutionary Committee of Forces of Public Order:

" . . . The Committee unanimously elects Major General Bela Kiraly as commander-in-chief of the National Guard and Sandor Kopacsy, Colonel of police, to act as his dep-

uty. The Committee delegates eight members to the National Guard high command.

"The Committee stands by our country's independence and neutrality. We shall resist every aggression directed against our independence and neutrality. Pending free democratic elections, we shall help toward the consolidation of order with all our might and shall faithfully carry out the government's measures designed to annihilate attempts at restoration by reactionary trouble-makers.

"Since strikes cause serious harm to our country's defense potential, we recommend that the strike be ended and organized work begun, with the proviso that National Guard formations keep their weapons nearby even while going back to work, so that in case of aggression they can be ready for immediate battle against the aggressors.

"As of today, persons belonging neither to the Army nor the police are permitted to carry arms only if they belong to the National Guard. Persons belonging neither to the Army, the police nor the National Guard will be disarmed by us in the interest of the consolidation of peace.

"Members of the National Guard! Long live the independence of our sacred Fatherland! Long live its neutrality! Long live our victorious national democratic revolution! Safeguard the unity of our nation!

"Signed on behalf of the general meeting of the Revolutionary Committee of the Forces of Public Order by Major General Bela Kiraly and Sandor Kopacsy, Colonel of police."

#### 1418 "Important announcement:

"The mixed Committee of the Hungarian and Soviet Army Commands met this morning and both parties have explained their points of view as regards the technical problems of the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The mixed Committee has agreed to study the mutual explanations and to meet again at 2100 [GMT] tonight.

"Meanwhile, the Soviet delegation has promised that several trains carrying Soviet troops will not cross the Hungarian frontier."

1510 "Imre Nagy . . . received at noon today Austrian Minister Peinsipp, who handed him the following *aide memoire*:

"My government has authorized me to take the most energetic stand against allegations that the Austrian government permits armed or unarmed Hungarian emigres to infiltrate into Hungary through Austrian territory.

"The Austrian government has ordered the establishment of a closed zone along the Austrian-Hungarian frontier. . . . The [Austrian] Minister of Defense has inspected the zone accompanied by the military attaches of the four Great Powers, including the USSR. The military attaches were thus enabled to make sure of the measures taken on the frontier zone with a view to protecting the Austrian frontier and Austrian neutrality. . . . The Austrian authorities have instructed former Premier Ferenc Nagy,<sup>3</sup> who arrived unexpectedly in Vienna on Monday, to leave Aus-

<sup>3</sup> Ferenc Nagy was head of the Smallholders' Party, and Premier of Hungary 1946-47.

trian territory immediately. This is known to the Soviet authorities."

## Radio Free Kossuth, in French to Europe

1300 Report that negotiations between representatives of the armed forces of the Soviet Union and of Hungary began in the morning in the parliament house, Budapest. That negotiations are in progress between Ferenc Erdei, Hungarian Minister of State, Major General Pal Malter, Major General Istvan Kovacs and Colonel Miklos Szucs, for Hungary, and General Malinin, Lieutenant General Stepano and Major General Shchelbanin for the Soviet Union. Statement that results will not be known until late in the afternoon.

\* \* \*

Press review. *Magyar Nemzet* [independent]:

"We learn with great emotion and deep gratitude of the aid of the civilized world, and we believe that one of the magnificent achievements of our revolution, the neutrality of Hungary, assumes great importance for the world and signifies more than a decisive turn in Hungary's international position. We believe that not only have we come closer to a happy and peaceful future but also that we have perhaps made an important contribution to the consolidation of world peace.

"This may sound strange while the guns are still heard near Suez, but who would have believed two weeks ago that Mao Tse-tung and Eisenhower would formulate identical opinions on the solution of the Hungarian problem? Our people and our country wish to live in peace and friendship with the Soviet people as well as with the Chinese and American peoples. . . ."

1600 "As has been previously announced, the Budapest National Committee elected Jozsef Kovago<sup>4</sup> as its president [i.e., Mayor of Budapest]. . . . He has stated:

"After six and a half years of imprisonment I have learned with pride of the confidence which the people of the capital have in us. The state of my health does not permit me to occupy this post . . . but the visit that I made on Saturday morning to my friend and long-time colleague Peter Bechtler convinced me that he could conveniently occupy the post in my place . . . until my return. I hope to be able to come back soon to the people of Budapest as Mayor and my aim will be to make the capital flourish."

## Radio Free Szombathely

1510 "A few hours ago an anti-aircraft artillery officer reported that . . . he went over to the Soviet troops as negotiator. There was no sign of enmity. It is their chief desire to return home as soon as possible. . . . It is the opinion of the Military Revolutionary Committee that for

<sup>4</sup> Kovago was a hero of the anti-Nazi resistance and Mayor of Budapest after the war. He was imprisoned by the Communist regime without trial. He is a member of the Smallholders' Party.

the time being the Soviet troops have no intention of attacking. This is what the facts seem to prove.

"A member of the Bekes County Revolutionary Committee, gave the following information to a correspondent of MTI [official Hungarian press service] about Soviet moves in the neighborhood:

"There is a Soviet motorized unit stationed southwest of Bekcscsaba and another south of Szarvas. As far as I can see they intend to surround the city. The Soviet commander was surprised when I asked him to avoid the populated areas because the people are in a very excited mood and an armed conflict might result. The Soviet commander said that they had been sent with the order to fight the Fascists, people who want to restore Fascist rule. The [Hungarian] negotiators explained that there was no question of this. They also told the Soviet commander that Rakosi's anti-democratic regime had put the population in a difficult position. The Soviet officers, having been informed of all this, declared that they would never fire on the Hungarian people."

## Radio Free Miskolc

1225 "Soviet forces here are marching from Vasarosnameny [near the Soviet border] towards Debrecen."

\* \* \*

"The County Secretary of the Peasant Party . . . will now announce the program of his party:

"Our lines were penetrated by irresponsible elements who became the humble servants of the Rakosi clique and who gained a harmful influence on the political life of the country. Together with the Rakosi clique they succeeded in turning the National Peasant Party aside from the path of honor and befooled its clean banner. We now resolve to raise up again the glorious and spotless flag of the National Peasant Party, and to continue our political movement under the name of the Petofi Peasant Party.

"The Petofi Peasant Party believes in private property and advocates free production and marketing. In the field of religion we advocate the fullest freedom of conscience, freedom of religion and guaranteed security for the activities of churches true to the spirit of Christ. [We] demand extracurricular education for peasant children and youth.

"We announce that we fully accept the 1945 Land Reform Law, that we will not return the land received by our peasantry, that we will fight relentlessly against any attempt to cast doubt on the correctness of that great national achievement, or against attempts to attack measures in the field of land reform. But we consider it necessary to re-examine all illegalities which have been committed since 1948. . .

"While holding full respect for the right of the peasantry to sell its products without restrictions, we consider it necessary, however, until sound peasant cooperatives are established, to maintain our existing agricultural collectives.

"We demand that the national government disband the old parliament immediately, and upon the restoration of order convoke a temporary parliament with temporary

delegates to frame a new election law. The temporary parliament should consist of 250 to 300 members and these should be delegates from the four former coalition parties."

\* \* \*

"Tanks are approaching. . . . No one is in the streets except Soviet troops on patrol. Nyiregyhaza has been surrounded. . . . Every part of the country has been occupied. . . . The situation has reached maximum tension. . . ."

## Radio Free Dunapentele

1300 "An appeal by the National Committee of Dunapentele addressed to all free radio stations:

"The propaganda of Soviet radio stations and the Soviet Army tells of Fascist atrocities in Hungary. We suggest that every Free Hungarian radio station in its regular Hungarian and Russian broadcasts deny these rumors and deny the news that every former Communist Party member and functionary in Hungary is being executed."

## Radio Free Gyor

1200 "According to information from the Ministry of Defense, a Soviet battalion in the Gyoengyoes area [about 50 miles northeast of Budapest] has handed its arms over to the civilian population, stating that it does not wish to fight the Hungarian people. Since handing over its arms, the battalion has been camping at the outskirts of the town."

## Radio Free Gyor, in English

1730 "The student body of Sopron has sent the following letter to Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India:

"His Excellency Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, New Delhi:

"Mr. Prime Minister, the Hungarian people know about your tremendous faith in peace and non-violence. In our tragic situation we ask you to help the Hungarian people toward freedom and independence. We wish to follow the example of India in having peaceful and friendly relations with every nation outside of military blocs.

"It would help extremely to develop our neutrality and independence if you would send your representatives to Hungary as soon as possible. They will be able to observe how strong our desire for peace and neutrality is and also the threatening Soviet forces in our [capital?] and in the country. We do not want any more bloodshed. Please, Mr. Nehru, use your influence. If you would protest for us in Moscow and ask the evacuation of Soviet troops from Hungary, you could save the life and future of a nation and help in the birth of a new, peaceful and neutral country. Our hope is in you, Mr. Nehru, and a grateful nation will thank you for your words."

# Saturday, November 3, 1956—Night

## Radio Free Kossuth

**2019** "STATEMENT by Minister of State Ferenc Farkas, of the Petofi [Peasant] Party, giving the unanimous opinion of the government on the following points:

1. "It will retain] from the Socialist achievements and results everything which can and must be used in a free, democratic and Socialist country in accordance with the desires of the people.

2. "We want to retain the sincerest and warmest friendly economic and cultural relations with every Socialist country even after we have obtained neutrality. We want to establish economic and cultural relations with other peace-loving countries of the world, too."

3. Party interests to be subordinated to those of the nation.

4. Continuation of efforts and negotiations with the USSR in regard to Hungarian neutrality and independence and the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

5. "We deem it absolutely necessary to appeal to the great friendly Socialist empire, the Chinese People's Republic, to friendly Yugoslavia and friendly Poland to support us in the peaceful establishment of our just cause."

6. The absolute necessity of resuming work and starting production.

7. "The government will most energetically prevent any kind of anarchistic or counterrevolutionary demonstrations. Should such demonstrations take place, we will punish them."

Farkas also warns against "party strife and bickering."

**2100** "Cardinal Mindszenty, Archbishop of Esztergom and Prince Primate of Hungary, will speak to the whole world and to the Hungarian people:

"Nowadays it is often emphasized that the speaker breaking away from the practices of the past is speaking sincerely. I cannot say this. I need not break with my past. By the grace of God, I am the same as I was before my imprisonment. I stand by my convictions physically and spiritually intact, just as I was eight years ago, though prison has tired me sorely....

"There is no country which in the course of its thousand years of history has suffered more than we have. Hungarians have had to wage incessant struggles for our independence, mostly in defense of the Western countries. These struggles interrupted the continuity of our development and we always had to rise again by our own efforts. In the course of history this is the first occasion that Hungary has enjoyed the sympathy of all other civilized nations. We are deeply moved by this, and every member of our small nation is joyous in his heart that, because of our love of liberty, the nations have taken up its cause....

"Yet we, even in our extremely grave situation, hope that we have no enemies, for we are the enemies of no

one. We want to live in friendship with all people and all countries. . . . We Hungarians want to live and progress as the standard-bearers of the family of peaceful European nations. We want to live in a spirit of friendship with all the people of Europe and not on the basis of an artificially-created friendship. And turning our eyes toward more distant parts, we, a small nation, want to live in friendship, in undisturbed, peaceful and mutual esteem with the great United States, as well as the powerful Russian Empire, and in good-neighborly relations with Prague, Bucharest, Warsaw and Belgrade. In this regard I must refer to Austria as a country enshrined in the heart of every Hungarian for the brotherly understanding shown during the suffering of our present process of maturing.

"Our position and future now depend on what the Russian Empire, consisting of 200 million persons, intends to do regarding its military forces within our frontiers. Radio reports say that this military force is increasing. We are neutral. We did not give the Russian Empire cause for bloodshed. But has the idea ever occurred to the leaders of the Russian Empire that we would respect the Russian people far more if they did not oppress us?

"Usually it is the attacked that hurls himself against the enemy. However, we did not attack Russia, and we sincerely hope that Russia will withdraw her armed forces from Hungary soon.

"As a result of the above-mentioned struggle, all work and production has stopped throughout the country, making our internal situation all the more critical. It is a nation worn to the bone that fought for its liberty. We are facing starvation. Work, production and restoration must immediately be resumed for our own sake as well as for the nation. This is essential if the nation is to continue to live. Everyone in the country must know that this fight was not a revolution, but a fight for freedom.

"In 1945, after a lost, and for us, a pointless war, a regime was forced on us which now disgusts its heirs and they condemn it wholeheartedly. This regime was swept away by the entire Hungarian people, and its heirs should not ask for a proof of this. With the younger generation at the head of the nation, the fight for freedom will remain unparalleled throughout the world. This fight was fought because the nation wanted to be free to decide how it was to live, to work, and to run the State. The people themselves will not permit the distortion of this fact to the advantage of unauthorized powers for hidden motives.

"Now we need general elections, free from abuses, in which all parties can nominate candidates. The elections should be held under international supervision.

"I am, and will remain, independent of any party, and because of my office, above it. I take advantage of my authority to warn every Hungarian not to give way to party strife and disagreement after these days of beautiful unity. Our country needs many things, but it does not need many parties and party leaders. The nation's exist-

ence and daily bread, not politics, is our main worry.

"Personal revenge must be avoided and eliminated. Those who have participated in the fallen regime are responsible for their activities, omissions and defaults. If things proceed decently and according to promises made, my task will not be to make accusations.

"However, I must stress that we have a classless society and a State where law prevails. We support private ownership which is rightly and justly limited by social interests. This is the wish of the Hungarian people.

"As head of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church I declare . . . that we do not oppose the justified development of our country. We only desire that this development should be sound. . . ."

## Radio Free Kossuth, in French to Europe

1900 "The majority of the Soviet units now in Hungary were on the move all Saturday. According to reports received from the northeast frontier, new Soviet formations entered Hungarian territory Saturday morning. According to observers a great number of [Soviet] armored vehicles are held in readiness near the Soviet frontier. The most important movements were affected near Szolnok, Nyiregyhaza and Debrecen in Eastern Hungary. Soviet troops have appeared in the regions of Békescsaba and Szarvas, Eastern Hungary. . . .

"According to reports from Nyirbator [near Soviet border], Soviet armored vehicles and motorized infantry crossed the frontier near Beregsurany between 0700 and 1200 [GMT]. A convoy of trucks carrying Soviet families moved from Debrecen toward Vasarosnameny. Following the occupation of the railroad stations in Zahony and Nyiregyhaza, Soviet troops took over the station at Debrecen early this morning. According to information from Miskolc . . . Soviet troops are building railroad lines between Nyiregyhaza and Zahony. . . .

"Soviet troops have occupied highway No. 4 running between Szolnok and Abony and stopped all vehicles moving toward Budapest. This morning Soviet trucks carried infantry from this region toward Budapest. The airport at Kunmadaras is under the control of Soviet troops. . . .

"In several districts the population is in contact with Soviet troops . . . through Revolutionary Committee delegates. . . . The [Soviet] officers and soldiers say that they have come to fight against the Fascists, against those who wish to restore the Fascist regime in Hungary. The people explain to them that there is no Fascism in Hungary, that the Hungarian people are fighting for freedom, for an independent Hungary, and for the well-being of the workers. Soviet officers, without exception, reply that they will not fire on the Hungarians and they also ask for the understanding of the people, for they have come as soldiers, under orders. . . .

"The soldiers who arrived in Györ said that they had travelled 600 kilometers to get there. They had been told that the Americans wanted to attack Hungary and that they must defend the Hungarian workers. It is obvious that the Soviet soldiers are unaware of the true situation

and that, on seeing the enthusiasm of the people, they are more and more convinced that the Hungarian people are fighting for the independence of their Fatherland and for the well-being of the workers."

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Review of the evening press:

"The periodical of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Society, to be published every Saturday, carries an editorial entitled 'What We Want—the Essential Points of the Program of the Hungarian Catholic Church.' Among other things the program stipulates the earliest possible re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Hungary. . . . It points out that in keeping with the spirit of the papal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, measures and social institutions which truly serve the welfare of the people must be strengthened. The fundamental unit of society is the family, which must be consolidated, the editorial emphasized. In this regard it quotes a point from *Quadragesimo Anno* which indicates that the worker must earn enough to be able to meet his own needs and those of his family. . . .

"The editorial also demands that Catholic bodies be free to function and that all religious orders enjoy unlimited freedom. It also demands the return of the estates formerly owned by the Catholic Church. It also demands that schools which belonged to the Church be returned to it. . . .

"The organ of the Petofi Party carries an article by the well-known Hungarian writer Laszlo Nemeth.<sup>5</sup> He stresses that in the last few years Hungary has made big strides on the road toward Socialism and has become a Socialist State. To forget this would be just as grave a mistake as that made by Communists who did not take into consideration the real economic situation in Hungary, particularly in agriculture. The Communists overlooked the fact that agriculture here was more advanced than that of Russia before the October [1917] Revolution, and wanted to bring it down to that level.

" . . . Laszlo Nemeth then asks what we could gain or lose by maintaining or rejecting Socialism. By proclaiming our neutrality, we have established relations with the camp of neutral States, among which we have taken our position. These people are Socialist, such as Poland and Yugoslavia, or advancing towards systems akin to Socialism, such as India.<sup>6</sup> These people will avoid us if we go back, or even seem to go back, to what they call bourgeois democracy. The respect which we hope we have aroused in the hearts of the people of the USSR and the attention given to us by the best sons of the West, who after this revolution expect from us an exemplary political system, urge us to this.

"Then Laszlo Nemeth suggests that all political parties issue a joint declaration in which they indicate their stand in favor of several great Socialist principles. On the basis of such a declaration . . . a political system of historical importance could be constituted: a multi-party system

<sup>5</sup> Nemeth was elected to the Presidium of the Writers' Union in September 1956, in the election which overthrew the Stalinist leadership of the Union; he is not a Communist.

based on a common fundamental principle combining the force of a social system based on an ideological foundation with the elasticity of a parliamentary system."

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Report of a press conference held by Zoltan Tildy and Geza Losonczy for Hungarian and foreign journalists:

"A . . . correspondent asked for information on the talks which took place today between representatives of the Hungarian and Soviet Armies. Tildy replied that negotiations began today and would continue tonight. 'One cannot yet speak of the results.' . . . Losonczy added: 'The talks have already yielded some results. . . . One can note a certain relaxation.' Tildy said that he had information that the Soviet military delegation had promised that no new convoys of Soviet troops would cross the frontier. To the question as to whether the Soviet reply to demands put forward on Thursday by the Hungarian Premier [Nagy] regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops was satisfactory, Tildy replied, 'The Soviet reply has not so far been satisfactory.' . . .

"The *Manchester Guardian* correspondent asked whether the Hungarian government knew if the Polish government supported this demand [Tildy's statement that "we desire that the Soviet troops withdraw in the shortest possible time"] concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Losonczy said that the Polish government believed that Hungarian questions should be settled without foreign intervention. . . . To a question by another foreign correspondent as to whether the possibility of a clash between the Soviet and Hungarian armed forces existed, Tildy replied that Hungarian troops have received orders to refrain from all hostile acts. 'I believe that so tragic a clash could not take place.' . . . To a question as to whether the Hungarian government had, in the course of the talks, received a guarantee from the Soviet side that this would not take place, Tildy replied that in the notes exchanged by the two sides there were no guarantees of this kind.

". . . [Asked] whether the Soviet government had informed the Hungarian government about the dispatch of



United Press

Hungarian Army crewmen wave from the turret of their tank in a Budapest street on November 2.

reinforcements to Hungary, Tildy replied: 'That is a good question, but it has to be divided into two parts. The first part refers to the period when the preceding [Hegedus-Gero] government was in power. This government, which was still influenced by Rakosi, had indeed asked for intervention in the affairs of Hungary and asked for aid against the insurgent nation. This situation was brought to an end when the Imre Nagy government came to power.

"This [Imre Nagy] government declared on its very first day that it cancelled the request of the preceding government and asked for the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops then involved in our internal affairs. This request removed all legal and political foundations for the interference of Soviet troops. From the very first hour of the Imre Nagy government we sent a whole series of notes to speed the withdrawal of Soviet troops. We have not received any satisfactory reply. The Soviet government and the leaders of the troops which have come to Hungary never informed the Hungarian government in advance regarding their plans.' . . .

[Losonczy said:] 'The government has unanimously declared that it will not make any concessions as far as the positive achievements of the past twelve years are concerned, for example, in agrarian reform, the nationalization of factories, and social achievements. It also demands that the achievements of the present revolution remain intact, notably national independence, equality of rights, and the building of Socialism not on the basis of a dictatorship but on the basis of democracy. The government is determined not to tolerate the restoration of capitalism in Hungary. . . .

"We wish to maintain and even broaden our good relations with the Soviet Union and the countries building Socialism. . . ."

### Radio [Free] Rajk

1830 "It is the duty of the six-member [Party] committee headed by Janos Kadar to go to Moscow immediately to begin negotiations with the Communist Party leadership, with every one of its members . . . to send telegrams to the French, Italian and German Communist Parties. Let us explain to our Russian and other comrades abroad that there was a time, when the liberating Soviet Army reached the frontiers of Hungary [1944], when at least half of the nation placed its trust in the Communist Party. Let us explain with blunt frankness that, as a result of the behavior of the occupying Soviet Army, we obtained only one-sixth of the vote in the ensuing free election.

"Tell them frankly that our Party today is altogether on the brink of bankruptcy, as a result of the past few bloody days and the irresponsible mass-murder by Russian officers, and we [Communists] are worse off than in 1945 when we started. Tell our comrades that a new occupation may assure that Hungary will remain a Russian colony for some time; it is not even impossible that a new Rakosi or a new Gero may report on paper to Moscow a new Communist Party in Hungary, and even extort dues from the members by means of bayonets. But the lofty tenets of Marxism-Leninism on Communism will have disappeared without trace from our country."

## Sunday, November 4, 1956

*Imre Nagy announces Soviet attack on Budapest. Russian forces take over most of the country: airfields, highway junctions, bridges, railway yards. Heavy fighting reported in Csepel and Kobanya. Soviet paratroops in action near Gyor. Fighting at Pecs as Hungarian troops resist Soviet efforts to take uranium mines and airfields. Heavy fighting in Budapest. Gyor and Sopron fall to the Russians. Fighting continues in all parts of the country and the situation remains confused.*

*New government changes announced: Janos Kadar, Premier; Ferenc Munnich, Deputy Premier and Minister of Security; Imre Horvath, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Istvan Kossa, Minister of Finance; Antal Apro, Minister of Industry; Imre Dogei, Minister of Agriculture; Sandor Ronai, Minister of Internal Trade.*

*Repeated free radio broadcasts call for Western help.*

*The Hungarian Writers' Union appeals for Western aid.*

*Soviet-held radio stations order surrender of arms, and resumption of work. Many free radio stations fall; Radio Free Kossuth goes off the air after broadcasting repeated SOS calls.*

### — Morning

#### Radio Free Kossuth

0420 "ATTENTION! Attention! Premier Imre Nagy will address the Hungarian people:

"This is Premier Imre Nagy speaking. Today at day-

break Soviet troops attacked our capital with the obvious intent of overthrowing the legal democratic Hungarian government. Our troops are in combat. The government is at its post. I notify the people of our country and the entire world of this fact." [Announcement repeated in English, Russian, Hungarian, and French.]

0458 "Imre Nagy, Premier of the national government, appeals to Pal Maleter, Defense Minister, Istvan Kovacs, Chief of the General Staff, and the other members who went to the Soviet Army Headquarters at ten o'clock [2100 GMT] last night and have not yet returned, to return at once and take charge of their respective offices."

0508 Announcement that Imre Nagy has sent the text of his notice of the Soviet attack to UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold.

0544 Announcement of an Associated Press report that the UN Security Council has received Hungary's appeal.

0612 "Attention, attention, important announcement: The Hungarian government appeals to the officers and men of the Soviet Army not to shoot. Let us avoid bloodshed. The Russians are our friends and will remain our friends."

0655 "Report from New York. The Associated Press reported at 0624 that the United States early this morning asked the Security Council of the United Nations to hold an emergency meeting on Sunday to discuss the Soviet

offensive in Hungary. The request was submitted by American Ambassador Lodge less than an hour after news agencies reported large-scale Soviet attacks in all of Hungary.

"The Security Council had discussed the Hungarian question Saturday night and adjourned the debate until Monday morning. Lodge, however, requested the Council's chairman to hold the meeting earlier should the situation deteriorate. . . ."

0656 "Attention, attention. You will now hear the manifesto of the Union of Hungarian Writers:

"This is the Union of Hungarian Writers! To every writer in the world, to all scientists, to all writers' federations, to all science academies and associations, to the intelligentsia of the world! We ask all of you for help and support; there is but little time! You know the facts, there is no need to give you a special report! Help Hungary! Help the Hungarian writers, scientists, workers, peasants, and our intelligentsia!

"Help! Help! Help!"

0724 "SOS! SOS! SOS! . . ."

**At 0725 [GMT] Radio Free Kossuth went off the air with a repeated SOS signal. The station was silent until 2015. When transmission resumed it was in the hands of the Soviet-controlled regime.**

*The following broadcasts, in Hungarian, were picked up on the frequency usually occupied by the Balaton Szabadi transmitter, which normally broadcasts the Hungarian foreign-language broadcasts—the radio location was probably Szolnok.*

0405 Statement by Ferenc Munnich:

"Open letter to the Hungarian working people: compatriots, our worker and peasant comrades, we the undersigned, Antal Apro, Janos Kadar, Istvan Kossa and Ferenc Munnich, former Ministers in the Imre Nagy government, announce that on November 1, 1956, we broke off our relations with this government, left this government and took the initiative of forming the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government.

"We were prompted to take this responsible step by the realization that, within the Nagy government, which became impotent under the pressure of the reaction, we could do nothing against the counterrevolutionary danger menacing our People's Republic, the rule of workers and peasants, and our Socialist achievements.

"Respected champions of the working class movement have been murdered—Imre Mezoc, Secretary of the Greater Budapest Party Committee; Comrade Kalmar, veteran fighter of the labor movement in Csepel; Sandor Sziklai, the director of the Museum of War History. In addition, many, many respected sons of the working class and peasantry have been exterminated.

"As members of the government we could no longer watch idly . . . while, under the cover of democracy, counterrevolutionary terrorists and bandits were bestially

murdering our worker and peasant brothers and terrorizing our peaceful citizens, dragging our country into anarchy, and putting our entire nation under the yoke of counterrevolution for a long time to come.

"Hungarian workers, compatriots, comrades! We have decided to fight with all our strength against the threatening danger of Fascism and reaction and its murderous gangs. We appeal to every loyal son of our People's Democracy, every follower of Socialism—first of all the Communists, workers, miners, the best sons of the peasantry and the intelligentsia, to support every measure of the Hungarian Worker-Peasant Government and its struggle for the liberation of the people."

0500 "Attention! Attention! Comrade Janos Kadar speaking:

"The Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government has been formed. . . . The composition of the government is the following: Premier, Janos Kadar; Deputy Premier, [also] Minister of the Armed Forces and of Public Security, Dr. Ferenc Munnich; Minister of State, Gyorgy Marosan; Minister of Finance, Istvan Kossa; Foreign Minister, Imre Horvath; Minister of Agriculture, Imre Dogci; Minister of Industry, Antal Apro; Minister of Commerce, Sandor Ronai. For the time being the other portfolios will not be filled. They will be filled with other ministers as soon as national order has been restored, members and non-members of the Party, who are ready to protect the achievements of Socialism.

" . . . We know that many questions are still awaiting a solution in our country, and that we shall have to cope

with many difficulties. The life of the workers is still far from what it should be in a country building Socialism.

"While progress was made during the past 12 years, the Rakosi-Gero clique committed many grave mistakes and gravely violated legality. All this rightly made workers discontent. The reactionaries are now seeking their own selfish ends. They raised their hands against our people's democratic regime, which means that they want to return the factories and enterprises to the capitalists, the land to the big landowners.

"Horthy's gendarmes and prison wardens and the representatives of the hated and cursed oppressive system have already set out to sit on the neck of the people. If they had won, they would not have brought freedom, well-being, and democracy, but slavery, misery, unemployment, and ruthless new oppression. Exploiting the mistakes committed during the building of our people's democratic system, the reactionary elements have misled many honest workers and particularly the youth, who joined the movement out of honest and patriotic intentions.

"Hungarians, brothers, patriots, soldiers, and citizens! We must put an end to the excesses of the counterrevolutionary elements. The hour of action is here. We are going to defend the power of the workers and peasants and the achievements of the people's democracy. We will bring about order, security, and calm in our country. The interest of the people and the nation is that they should have a strong government, a government capable of leading the country out of its grave situation. That is why we have formed the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government. The program of this government is as follows:

"1. The securing of our national independence and our country's sovereignty.

"2. The protection of our people's democratic and Socialist system against all attacks. The protection of our Socialist achievements and the guaranteeing of our progress on the road of building Socialism.

"3. The ending of fratricidal fighting and the restoration of internal order and peace. The government will not tolerate, under any pretext, the persecution of workers for having taken part in the recent events.

"4. The establishment of close fraternal relations with every Socialist country on the basis of complete equality and non-interference. The same principle governs their mutual economic relations and assistance agreements.

"5. Peaceful cooperation with every nation, irrespective of its social order and form of government.

"6. The immediate and substantial raising of the living standard, particularly of the working class. Better housing for the workers—factories and institutes must be enabled to build apartments for their employees.

"7. Modification of the Five Year Plan, altering the methods of economic management, taking into consideration the country's capacity, so that the living standard can be raised as quickly as possible.

"8. Elimination of bureaucracy and broad development of democracy in the interest of the workers.

"9. On the basis of the broadest democracy, worker management must be inaugurated in factories and enterprises.

"10. The development of agricultural production, the abolition of compulsory deliveries, and assistance to individual farmers. The government will firmly liquidate all illegalities committed in the field of agricultural collectives and [land] commassation.

"11. The securing of democratic elections in the old organs of administration and the Revolutionary Councils.

"12. Support for retail trade and artisans.

"13. The systematic development of Hungarian national culture in the spirit of our progressive traditions.

"14. The Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government, acting in the interest of our people, our working class, and our country, requested the Soviet Army Command to help our nation in smashing the dark reactionary forces and restoring order and calm in the country.

"15. After the restoration of order, the Hungarian government will begin negotiations with the Soviet government and with other participants of the Warsaw Pact on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

"Workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth, soldiers and officers, support our nation's just struggle, protect our people's democratic system! Disarm counterrevolutionary gangs, line up behind the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government. Resume work without delay. Working peasants, defend the land. . . . Working youth and students, do not allow yourselves to be misled. Only the people's democracy can secure your future, therefore, protect it! Hungarian workers, the prerequisite for the realization of our justified economic, political, and social endeavors is the defense of the people's democratic power, the restoration of order, the resumption of work and production.

"It is for this that the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government is fighting and is calling on every unselfish son and daughter of the Hungarian Fatherland. Workers, brothers, truth is on our side. We will win."

## Trans-Danubian Free Military Radio

0800 Announcement that the Soviet troops pushing into Budapest have imprisoned the Nagy government.

"... All Budapest bridges have been occupied by Soviet troops. Ujpest has fallen. The Army units and freedom fighters at Csepel continue to hold out. Soviet light bombers continue to enter the southern area of Trans-Danubia. Soviet armored units and artillery assisted by the air force are heavily attacking the bridge at Dunafoldvar [south of Budapest]."

0900 Reports that Soviet paratroops are landing in the area between Szekcsfehervar and Györ, and that Soviet motorized and armored troops are entering Hungary from Czechoslovakia over the Komarom Bridge.

Further reports that a desperate battle is under way be-

tween Hungarian and Soviet troops between Gyor and Komarom, with the Soviet Air Force entering the battle in low-altitude attacks; that a strong fire was visible from the Budapest area; that at 0830 [GMT] the military radio stations of Gyor, Miskolc and Pecs made an appeal to the local councils to announce the general revolt.

Another report quoting Radio Free Pecs to the effect that the Revolutionary Council of the Trans-Danubian area has taken over temporary governmental power, since the Soviets have taken the Hungarian government prisoner.

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Reports that Soviet troops and Hungarian troops are fighting between Miskolc and Helyocsaba, and that the Soviet Air Force has started to use incendiary bombs.

"The Revolutionary Council of the Miskolc Garrison Troops has declared a state of siege for the city. A Hungarian air bomber unit has started a big attack against Soviet troops crossing the Tisza. The Hungarian bombers are bombing the Soviet pontoon bridges built across the Tisza. . . . The miners of Pecs have armed themselves and have joined the Army troops fighting the Soviets."

0930 Report that Soviet paratroops have landed in the Almasfuzito area and that Soviet paratroopers have occupied the industrial plants of Gyor and the radio station at Balaton Szabadi.

### Radio Free Dunapentele

0730 "This is the free radio of the Dunapentele National Committee. . . . The treacherous occupation forces have attacked Budapest and several other cities in the country. The battle is on in Pecs, Szekesfehervar, Dunafoldvar, and Veszprem. Hungarian soldiers are fighting as one man against the invaders and will continue fighting for the sacred cause of the Hungarian revolution to their last drop of blood! The situation is serious but not hopeless. Our anti-aircraft artillery has been put into action all along the line. The fight against the intruder is raging everywhere! Hungarians, do not let the Russian troops carry out a massacre in our beloved country! Take your arms and stand united for the sacred cause of the defense of the country! . . . The Dunapentele garrison troops will hold out to the last man. Death to the Soviet occupiers!" [A patriotic poem follows.]

" . . . Doctors, nurses and hospital workers, report immediately to your places in the hospital. Soldiers and civilians who know how to handle guns should come immediately to the Bela Bartok House of Culture. Those under 18 and over 61 should return immediately to their homes.

"Attention! This is a call to mechanics. Mechanics who know how to handle 120-150 cubic centimeter machines should come immediately to the 51 workshops of the combined industrial enterprise to do repair work for the National Committee and the Revolutionary Military Council. . . ."

### Radio Free Pecs

0930 Appeal to the population of Trans-Danubia to join the local National Guard and local Hungarian Army units. All Hungarians between 18 and 50 are called up.

### Radio Free Gyor

1020 Announcements that, according to information received through the patriots' military radios, the Hungarian Army has pushed back the Soviets in the outer districts of Budapest; that the parliament building is on fire; that Soviet troops are setting up barricades in the center of Budapest, "trying in this way to defend themselves against the mounting fury of the population."

1100 Report that the miners of Tatabanya, aided by Hungarian Army units, are advancing between Tatabanya and Budapest and that the Tatabanya-Budapest railroad line, used for Soviet reinforcements, has been broken through at two points near Szar. Further report that the Tatabanya workers and the local population most emphatically reject the order issued by the Kadar regime to lay down arms, and that, informed of the increasing resistance, the Soviet commander-in-chief is sending additional reinforcements into the Tatabanya area.

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An announcement to the effect that in areas in the hands of the [Kadar] Communists, several members of the Trans-Danubian National Council who tried to get in touch with the Communists have been executed. News that Budapest is in flames and that Soviet troops have been pushed back at Ujpest, Kobanya, Kelenfoeld, Csepel and Obuda.

### Radio Szombathely (Soviet-Controlled)

0902 "Workers, Hungarian workers! The counterrevolutionary government has resigned. They did not succeed in delivering our country to the Western capitalists. They could not succeed, because the Hungarian workers and peasants reject the Fascist dictatorship. . . .

"Attention, attention!

"You will now hear the order of the [Soviet] Military Commander [of Vas]:

"In the city, and in Vas County, the local administrative organs have been unable to maintain order and to secure public safety. Criminal provocateurs continue to harass the peaceful population, to loot public buildings, shops and private homes. They continue bestially to murder Soviet soldiers! All this delays talks between the Hungarian and Soviet governments in regard to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary!

"In order to protect the homes of peaceful citizens and the public buildings from rebel acts and disorders, I, the commanding officer of the city and county, command that patrols of Soviet troops should guard public buildings and enterprises. I order:

"1. Civilians who possess arms to deliver them immediately to the Soviet military command. Those who do not comply will be severely punished.

"2. In cities and villages traffic and pedestrians are temporarily permitted to circulate between 0700 and 1700 only.

"3. I order work to continue in shops, bakeries, etc., so that undisturbed food supply to the population is secured. Every single citizen, all public installations, must comply with this order until public safety is fully restored.

"Signed: Military Commander of Szombathely and Vas County."

0915 "Attention! Attention! We now read the manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian Workers' [Communist] Party of County Vas:

"Communists! Comrades! Fascism has not succeeded. . . . The working people have overthrown the outrageous

attempt of the counterrevolutionaries. The glorious fight for freedom was led by our Party, just as it always led our peaceful construction: always Communists have been in the forefront. The past twelve years of people's democratic rule have left lasting marks on our people and that fact cannot be changed no matter how great the treachery. Comrades, the Communist Party has again proven that it is the steadfast leader of the people. Our Party alone has not become the tool of the counterrevolution. Those who wanted to annihilate the Communist Party actually wanted to abolish the rule of the people. The Party has won, the Hungarian people has won! Comrades, take the lead into your hands again, in battle and work alike! . . . Explain to workers that it is impossible to overthrow the rule of the people, the building of a Socialist democratic system. . . ."

## Sunday, November 4, 1956 – Afternoon

### Radio Free Dunapentele, to Europe

[in Hungarian, Italian, French, German]

1200 "ATTENTION! Attention! This is the last free Hungarian station!

"This morning at 0130 Russian forces launched a general attack on the Hungarian nation. We ask the United Nations to send immediate help! We ask for parachute troops to be dropped over Dunantul [Western Hungary]. It is possible that our broadcasts will soon stop and you will hear us no more. We will only be silent when they have killed us. This morning at 0130 the Soviet troops launched a general attack against Hungarian troops. We do not know when we shall be massacred. [Repeated several times.]

"Attention! According to unconfirmed news Czechoslovak tanks are also involved in the fighting."

1300 "Attention: Radio Free Europe, attention:  
"Continue to relay our news. . . .  
"We give only important news."

1421 "Attention, Radio Free Europe. We ask for immediate armed help! We shall report again if possible. We now interrupt our broadcast. We shall report again if possible."

[Dunapentele was not heard again.]

### Unidentified Free Radio, Location Unknown

1334 "Civilized people of the world, listen and come to our aid, not with declarations, but with force, with soldiers and arms. Do not forget that there is no stopping the wild onslaught of Bolshevism. Your turn will also come, once we perish. Save our souls! save our souls!"

"Peoples of Europe whom we helped for centuries to withstand the barbaric attacks from Asia, listen to the tolling of Hungarian bells warning against disaster. . . . Civi-

lized peoples of the world, we implore you to help us in the name of justice, of freedom, of the binding moral principle of active solidarity. Our ship is sinking. Light is failing, the shadows grow darker every hour over the soil of Hungary. Listen to the cry, civilized peoples of the world, and act; extend to us your fraternal hand.

"SOS, SOS—may God be with you."

### Radio [Free] Rakoczi, Location Unknown

1435 "Urgent! Urgent!

"We are calling you from here, calling from here, Radio Free Europe, Radio Free Europe!

"Acknowledging your broadcast! Received and thanks!

"This is the Hungarian Army radio, called Radio Rakoczi.

"If you are receiving our broadcasts, acknowledge to Radio Rakoczi. We are breaking off, for we are in immediate danger!

"We ask urgently for immediate help!

"Free Europe! Free Europe! Acknowledge broadcasts of Radio Rakoczi!"

### Unidentified Amateur, Location Unknown

1215 "Attention! Attention! The transmitter in the Vac District has changed to 7½ megacycles on the 14 meter band. Continue to listen to our broadcasts and acknowledge them."

### Unidentified Free Radio, Location Unknown

1300 "We ask Radio Free Europe to indicate the wave lengths and frequencies of the other Hungarian radio stations without naming the place. . . . The Hungarian people . . . urgently ask for help so that they can defend their country's freedom and independence."

## Unidentified Free Radio, in Morse Code

1234 Special appeal to Radio Free Europe:

"Early this morning Soviet troops launched a general attack on Hungary. We are requesting you to send immediate military aid in the form of parachute troops over the Trans-Danubian provinces. SOS. Save our souls!"

## Radio Free Vac

1332 "Attention, Radio Free Europe, attention!

"We request immediate information. Is help coming from the West? . . ."

## Radio [Free] Csokonay

1520 "We request Radio Free Europe to relay immediately the following message to the Secretary-General of the UN:

"Appeal to the Secretary-General of the UN!

"We speak to you in the name of the entire Hungarian people. Soviet troops are attacking our country for the second time in two weeks. They have turned our country into a battleground without regard for our people and our national values. The first time they interfered in our domestic affairs at the request of a government alien to the people. The Hungarian people energetically and unmistakably repulsed this attempt with arms in their hands. By fighting we made it possible for Imre Nagy to become Premier. He proclaimed the supreme wish of the Hungarian people for neutrality and independence.

"After this the entire Hungarian people joined Imre Nagy and they are still behind him. Although we have only been in possession of neutrality for two days we expect the whole world to respect it! Our government has cancelled the Warsaw Pact and ordered negotiations for withdrawal of Soviet troops. We accuse the Soviet Union:

"1. Of armed aggression from outside the country.

"2. Of having arrested the Minister of Defense, Maleter, and his staff, who went to negotiate the withdrawal of troops.

"Since the only legal Hungarian government, that of Imre Nagy, has been imprisoned, and since that was the only organ which represented the official attitude of the Hungarian nation, in the name of our country we ask that the UN, by every possible means, pass a final resolution for the restitution and the protection of the liberty which we had already once won.

"We now address a message to the delegates of the UN member States:

"In the coming hours you will decide the life or the death of this nation. While your sons are at peace and happy, we sons of the Hungarian nation are falling under the cruel fire of Soviet tanks and bombers. Our country has been attacked from the outside. We turn to you for you are our last citadel of hope.



Wide World

A column of smoke billows over Budapest on November 4 as the Russians begin their attack. In the foreground is the Elizabeth Bridge which spanned the Danube before its destruction in World War II.

"Exercise the opportunity which your nation has given to you and save our country from destruction and slavery! We are asking for immediate and effective help which will save us from further bloodshed and will restore our independence. Show that the UN can carry out its will, and by its resolution make it possible for our country again to be free! We appeal to your conscience and call on you to act immediately."

1615 "Attention, Radio Free Europe. We heard your acknowledgment of receipt of our message to the Secretary-General of the UN.

"We now interrupt our broadcast for an indefinite period.

"Long live freedom. long live the free Hungarian people!"

## Radio Free Gyor

1300 Report on the situation in Budapest announcing that the Keleti Palyaudvar [Eastern Railroad Station of Budapest] is in Soviet hands. Most of the station is in flames. The Ganz Railroad Car Factory is under constant fire by Soviet heavy artillery. The power plant of the Gheorghiu-Dej Shipping Factory has been blown up by

the insurgents. Csepel is in the hands of the freedom fighters and Hungarian Army.

1330 "Appeal to the Western nations—SOS . . . SOS . . . the nation is bleeding to death. Help us, help us, save our souls!"

1400 "We announce in the name of the Hungarian Army troops, that they will not put down their arms. Should the combat troops bleed to death, then the older generation will continue the fight. . . ."

Report that arrested children are being tied with rope to the front of Soviet tanks and the tanks thus continue their onslaught against the Hungarian troops.

## Radio Free Miskolc

1545 "The Revolutionary and National Councils of Borsod refuse to accept the appeal issued by the [Kadar] government to lay down their arms, until such time as there are no Soviet troops within the country."

1611 "The Revolutionary Councils of Counties Borsod, Szatmar, and Szabolcs have come to an agreement with the Soviet Military Command on a cease-fire and mutual troop withdrawal in a radius of three to four kilometers."

## Radio Szolnok (Soviet-Controlled)

1356 Ultimatum to Hungarian Army troops to surrender by 1700 [GMT] deadline or face extermination by Soviet troops. Message to the city of Karcag to cease resistance, warning that if arms are not laid down by 1700 [GMT] the Soviet Air Force will bomb the city.

1413 Announcement by Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet troops of nationwide curfew from 1500 to 0600 [GMT].<sup>1</sup> Order for complete blackout in all cities; warning that the Soviet Air Force will fire at all points of light.

<sup>1</sup> Local curfews appeared to vary in different localities.

# Sunday, November 4, 1956—Night

## Radio Budapest, Home Service

2015 "THIS is the radio of the Worker-Peasant Government.

"An appeal to the Hungarian people:

"The events of November 4th have led to the complete dispersal of the reactionary forces in Hungary. The Imre Nagy government, which cleared the road for the counter-revolutionary forces, collapsed and has ceased to exist.

" . . . The Socialist forces of people's Hungary, together with the Soviet troops that were called to their defense, selflessly undertake the tasks set forth by the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government.

"The faithful fighters of the cause of Socialism, the worker and peasant revolutionaries, may come forward from their homes and hiding places.

"The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government of people's Hungary calls on every worker, peasant, intellectual and youth, on every patriot, to help with all his power the revolutionary government and its agencies. It calls on them to do their duty and resume work.

"The . . . revolutionary . . . government is sincerely convinced that in the days to come order and peace will be restored in the whole country."

2217 "First order of the Soviet military commander of Szolnok city:

"The forces of reaction and counterrevolution organized an uprising in Hungary at the end of October in order to overthrow the people's democratic regime and do away with the achievements of the working class and to restore the capitalist system. By virtue of the Warsaw Pact of the Socialist nations, the Hungarian government turned to the Soviet government for help in liquidating the counter-revolutionary forces and restoring order.

"The Soviet government has complied with this request; our troops have begun to restore order and have prevented the rebirth of Fascism. . . .

"I order that as of November 4, 1956, a curfew be imposed upon Szolnok between 1430 and 0500 [GMT] hrs.

"All military formations, armed groups and armed civilians must hand in their arms by 1700 hours on November 5, 1956, to the main department of the Ministry of the Interior in Szolnok County. Those who fail to comply will be brought before a military court.

"Until further orders, all assemblies, gatherings, theater and film performances, etc., are prohibited. I call on the population of Szolnok to carry out my orders. . . . Food shops shall be kept open in order to insure a food supply to the population. I have appointed Colonel [Novorov?] as Soviet military commander of Szolnok.

"Signed: Commander of Soviet troops stationed at Szolnok, Colonel [Bosustov?]"

2245 "Compatriots, workers, peasants, citizens, comrades! Working people of Szolnok County! The country is passing through grave times, especially our beloved capital, Budapest. . . . [Taking advantage of the peaceful youth demonstration of October 23] a gang of guttersnipes under the slogan of democratization and the flag of freedom launched a devastating campaign against the achievements and leaders of the people. . . .

"The counterrevolutionary bandits want to get back everything—the factories, the land, which the people rightly took into their possession. They have not had the courage yet to speak frankly of the taking back of factories and land. But some newspaper articles and radio talks foreshadowed their sinister designs. In the November 3 issue of *Szolnokmegyei Neplap* [People's Newspaper of Szolnok County—a revolutionary paper] an article openly

states that peasant farming must, in accordance with the conditions prevailing after the land reform, be based on the inviolability of private property, that security of peasant farming must be created. . . . In other words, back to the 1945 land reform: that is, security for owners of 100 or 200 holds [1 hold = 1.42 acres]. . . . For the time being they would have been satisfied with this. . . . The next step would have been the restoration of estates of 1,000 and 10,000 holds and [the restoration] of the exploiting rule of the Baghys and Esterhazys, the counts and gentry and squires.

"Collective farm members, individual farmers! Take a firm stand against all such attempts to 'tidy up' your land, in plain language, to rob it! Working peasants! Defend the kolkhozes, defend your land. . . . Hands off the kolkhozes, the State farms, and the lands of the individual farmers!

"Workers, comrades! . . . Your justified demands—settlement of wages and norms, raising of the standard of living, housing construction, setting up of workers' councils, are all demands which the new government has accepted, and it will meet them. You surely heard the speech of Janos Kadar, the veteran revolutionary, ill-treated by the Rakosi clique, in which he outlined his program. [The 15-point program of the Kadar government follows.]

". . . Finally we inform the working people of Szolnok County that the restoration of order has been taken over by units of the Soviet Army. . . . We request the people to continue to remain calm and to comply with the orders of the forces maintaining security. . . .

"Soviet soldiers, do not endanger either the personal or material safety of a single citizen. Preserve your calm. Truth is on our side and will triumph.

"Signed: Szolnok County branch of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' [Communist] Party."

2248 "To the UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold, New York [text of telegram]:

"The Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government hereby confirms the mandate of Mr. Kos, or in his absence that of Mr. Szabo, in the United Nations as the permanent representative of the Hungarian People's Republic in the United Nations.

"The Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government states that the appeal made by Imre Nagy to the UN organization requesting that the Hungarian question be discussed in the United Nations has no legal force and cannot be regarded as an appeal sent by Hungary as a State. The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government categorically opposes the discussion both by the Security Council and the General Assembly of the above-mentioned question since this question lies exclusively within the competence of the Hungarian People's Republic.

"Signed: Premier of the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government, Janos Kadar; Foreign Minister, Imre Horvath."

### Radio Pecs (Soviet-Controlled)

1900 "Dear listeners, we now transmit some official announcements. We call on the professors and students of

the universities and high schools to start lectures and instruction tomorrow morning as usual.

"Attention, attention: until further notice curfew is to last from 1700 to 0600. . . .

"Attention: the curfew regulations do not apply to bakers and workers of the food industry. We inform all these workers that the commander of the city authorizes them to circulate freely during the curfew. We request that [they] increase the [food] supply to the population with conscientious and disciplined effort."

Appeal of the [Communist] Party Committee and the National Council of Baranya County:

"Workers, peasants and intelligentsia! In . . . recent days it has become clear that the justified demands of workers, peasants, youth and intellectuals have been exaggerated by counterrevolutionary forces, and, taking advantage of our people's patriotism, they were launching an attack against the power of the working class. Comrades, workers, you know best what capitalist rule means, what unemployment, hunger, misery and humiliation mean. We believe that none of the workers want any of these things. Comrades, the attempt of the counterrevolutionaries has been defeated in the entire country and in our county also.

"Do not believe the lies of Radio Free Europe!

"After the restoration of order we promise you that we shall work in a new manner; we will not permit those illegalities which were committed by the old leaders. In the future, the workers will definitely become masters of the factories. You must re-elect worker councils, with Party leadership, from those workers who remained loyal to the proletarian power.

"Workers, support the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government established under the leadership of Comrade Janos Kadar. . . . Do not expect a better future from the counterrevolution but solely from the Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Government.

"Signed: County Baranya Party Committee and County Council."

2100 Order of the Soviet military commander:

"I order:

"1. The Revolutionary National Committees to disband.

"2. The population to hand in all weapons to the military command, in the building of the former security police, by 1700 [GMT], November 5, 1956. . . .

"3. All factories and offices to start work on November 5 as usual.

"4. The population strictly to refrain from demonstrations and gatherings. The cultural and entertainment places to remain closed until further notice.

"5. The population may circulate in the town from 0600 to 1800 [GMT]. Shops may stay open during that time.

"6. In case of firing at Soviet soldiers, and at any citizen, the Soviet armed forces will fire back with all weapons at their disposal."

## Radio [Free] Csokonay

1908 Faint SOS signals and calls for help, made unintelligible at times by jamming and atmospheric conditions. Suddenly, out of the welter of background noise, a voice in clear English:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty

and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. . . ."

Here the voice was drowned in the other noises. Then:

" . . . The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. . . ."

1910 The voice became inaudible.

\* \* \*

## Monday, November 5, 1956

*Fighting continues throughout the country. Soviet-controlled radio stations repeat cease-fire and return-to-work appeals. Free radio stations broadcast military instructions to the remaining resistance groups and repeated appeals for Western help. Fighting continues in the 8th District of Budapest, on Csepel Island, in the Lake Balaton region and in Kecskemet. Russians claim to have taken Szombathely, Miskolc, Debrecen, Szolnok, and Pees.*

### —Morning

#### Radio Budapest, Home Service

0826 APPEAL by the Soviet Military Command to Hungarians and Hungarian soldiers and officers:

"The Command and the soldiers and officers of the Soviet Army in Hungary are speaking to you. We, just as you, are workers, peasants, and intellectuals -working people. We are not here to occupy your country. We do not want other people's land. We have enough land and natural resources of our own.

"We have taken action at the request of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government. That government informed us that forces of capitalist reaction were engaged in committing abuses in Hungary and wanted to restore the power of large landowners and capitalists . . . to deprive the workers [of their rights] and the peasants of their land. Fascism appeared as a real danger.

"The government told us that Imre Nagy's government did not want to fight against reaction, and this enabled the counterrevolutionary gangs . . . to murder workers and patriots, to loot and to plunder. The government of Imre Nagy had disintegrated and did not actually exist. There was total confusion in the country and anti-democratic forces committed abuses with impunity.

"In this situation, the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government requested the command of the Soviet forces in Hungary to lend a helping hand. . . .

"We respect . . . the freedom-loving Hungarian people. It is our firm conviction that the Hungarian people are receiving our help with the same understanding they showed in 1945, when we liberated them from Fascist bondage with immeasurable sacrifice on both our parts. . . . We are your unselfish friends. We are soldiers of freedom

and friendship among peoples. We support a just and joint cause. We appeal to the soldiers and officers of the Hungarian Army to fight with us shoulder to shoulder for freedom and democracy against the unbridled forces of reaction."

1120 ". . . On Sunday morning the people in the streets looked frightened. They gathered in small crowds and asked: what is happening? Are the Russian troops not withdrawing after all? . . .

"What exactly happened during the past two weeks?

"The working people gained their rightful demands at the price of a justified uprising. The government promised to carry out these demands, and at the time it seemed that the . . . uprising had accomplished its aims. Workers and peasants regained their calm.

"It is still incomprehensible to many people why there should have been more bloodshed after that. The reason is that many, very many people, disguising themselves as revolutionaries, misled the people . . . gave voice to unlawful demands, and took the law into their own hands, soiling the holy banner of the uprising in a dastardly way. . . . Our heroes did not intend this to happen; it was not a humane course of action.

"Let there be no mistake. . . . We do not want to stand up for former leaders who were detested by the workers and who in the course of the last two weeks were dismissed. . . . We consider right and still recognize the achievements of the uprising. . . . We think that . . . guilty officials should be held responsible, but this must be done calmly and justly. . . .

"We do not maintain that there were no extreme leftist elements among Party members . . . who did their best to aggravate mistakes. . . . Comrade Kadar announced in his

broadcast that comrades faithful to the true ideals of the Party had left the government. . . ."

"After order is restored, the government will confer about the withdrawal of Soviet troops. . . . Soviet troops will leave our country only after order is restored."

### Radio [Free] Rajk

**0800** "Comrades, blood again is being shed in our unfortunate country. The leaders of the Soviet Union have reverted to Stalin's and Rakosi's terrorist colonial policy. They betrayed us while we conducted what appeared to be friendly negotiations with them, and their tanks and guns have again begun to commit mass murder. . . . By this barbarous act, they have made it impossible for a Communist Party ever to exist openly and honestly in our country.

"Janos Kadar and his reorganized Party may attempt to fool the nation and the world, but the fact is that Russian guns are destroying democracy and Communism in Hun-

gary. As convinced Communists, we must be the first to confess that it was not only Stalin who used Communism as a pretext to expand Russian imperialism and to suppress free peoples. . . .

"Comrades, our place . . . is on the barricades, where our Hungarian brothers are continuing the almost [hopeless?] struggle against brutal imperialism. . . . Soviet leaders must realize that true Hungarian Communists will never acquiesce to the Russian rule of terror. Even if they subjugate the nation, those of us who remain alive . . . will wage an underground war against them. . . .

"We shall do our best to present a clear picture of the Russian's brutal colonial rule, not only to our Russian comrades but to our comrades in Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and in the free countries. . . . Those who cooperate in any way and in the name of any party with the occupying colonial power are traitors not only to Hungary but to Communism, and we shall fight them. Comrades, the place of every honest Hungarian Communist is on the barricades."

## Monday, November 5, 1956—Afternoon

### Radio Pecs

**1530** "THIS is an appeal to all workers to return to their work places tomorrow morning. . . .

"You will now hear the appeal of the Soviet military commander: . . . [passage unintelligible]

"Attention! Attention! We request the population of Pecs not to give any kind of support to the counterrevolutionary units who are fighting in the Mecsek mountains.

"The population is requested not to grant refuge, either in private homes or public buildings, to these persons."

**1720** "We call on those directors and managers of enterprises and installations in Baranya County who, as a result of recent events . . . were illegally removed from their positions . . . to return to work immediately and to take over leadership. . . . On the basis of propositions submitted by the workers' councils of factories and installations, we shall decide later who will be removed . . . and who will be assigned to leading posts. For the time being, our chief objective is to start constructive work in our country."

\* \* \*

"Attention! Attention! You will now hear an extremely important communique:

"The Soviet military commander of Pecs and Baranya County instructs all those who illegally . . . are in possession of weapons to hand them over to local military installations and the district police headquarters, at the latest by 0700 [GMT] tomorrow. All those . . . who do not comply with these instructions will be subject to grave consequences. If these regulations are not obeyed, then the Soviet Military Command . . . will attack with heavy weapons tomorrow, November 6, at 0700 [GMT]. . . . We

call upon the people to keep their house doors locked and not to tolerate shooting on Soviet soldiers from their houses . . . for this will involve severe penalties, possibly the demolition of the houses."

\* \* \*

"Dear listeners, we wish to draw your attention to the curfew which begins at 1800 [GMT] tonight and which will end at 0600 tomorrow. . . . We wish to draw your attention to the fact that curfew must be observed with the greatest discipline."

### Radio Nyiregyhaza (Soviet-Controlled)

**1612** Warning to the population of Szabolcs-Szatmar County by the Home Guard Command of the county:

"The commandant of the County Home Guard warns the . . . population that all those who under any pretext are in possession of firearms—that is, pistols, rifles, sub-machine guns, light machine guns, machine guns, explosives, ammunition, etc., must surrender them without delay and at the latest by 1800 hrs. . . .

"Possessors of firearms who deliver their weapons within the above time limit will be exempt from the consequences of penal law. Those who fail [to do so] will be prosecuted with the full rigor of the law."

**1705** "Work was resumed at the Nyiregyhaza tobacco factory this morning. About 65-70 percent of the workers reported for work. The factory would like to work with a full complement tomorrow. For the time being only one shift is being worked. . . . Several thousand quintals of tobacco . . . are still at purchasing depots or with the growers. The transport of this tobacco to the factory is urgent. . . . Area inspectors have begun to press for de-

livery, but . . . transportation is inadequate. . . . The Soviet military commander has offered his help. There is no time to lose. . . ."

### Radio [Free] Rajk

1730 "While thousands of Hungarian patriots were massacred by tanks and guns . . . there were traitors . . . who under the leadership of the new Rakosi, Janos Kadar, accepted the services of the bloody Russian terrorist regime.

"We have very little to say to the Soviet masters. They have convinced not only the whole world, but also all Communists, that they do not care for Communism at all and that they simply prostituted Communism . . . to Russian imperialism. At the UN General Assembly, the whole world expressed its opinion, an opinion which at last acknowledged . . . that the Russians . . . have used Communism as a Trojan horse . . . to keep their colonies by massacre and terror.

"But we also want to speak of the traitors . . . the Janos Kadars, who play the dirty role of colonial governors. . . . We send them the message that we consider them all traitors to Communism. . . . These gangsters will continue Rakosi's work by falsifying historical events—not only those of 1945, but those of yesterday and the day before . . . lying to the effect that by the brutal massacre they 'liberated' this unhappy country from reactionary counterrevolutionaries, as Moscow lied to the world last week. Comrades, we will continue the struggle of true Communists . . . both above ground and underground. We do not promise that Janos Kadar . . . will be called to account . . . because his crime and that of his accomplices is clear and the sentence has already been pronounced. We Hungarian Communists will see to it that the sentence is carried out."

### Radio [Free] Roka,\* Location Unknown

1730 "We ask every Western station which receives our message to transmit it in English, German and French!

"We need help!

"The people of Budapest have no food. Because of lack of medicines and military help many people are dying. We need food and arms!

"On Nagykoros Road, the Russians fired on a Red Cross ambulance.

"Severe fighting is going on in the Eighth District of Budapest. The Russians have encircled the district and the population is digging trenches and building barricades.

\* Means "Fox" in Hungarian.

"Russian Army transport planes have arrived at the air-fields. The District of Nepliget and that of the East Station are crowded with Russians.

"The Russians have caused serious damage in Csepel.

"Hungarian youth will continue fighting until their last breath. Hungary has always been the fortress of the West.

"The situation is becoming more difficult by the hour. Only military help can save us. The whole nation is asking for help."

### Radio [Free] Rakoczi

1348 "At the Romanian frontier the Russian [passage unintelligible] . . .

"At 1200 [GMT] we received the following cable:

"Attention, Radio Free Europe, hello, attention. This is Roka speaking. The radio of revolutionary youth. . . . [passage unintelligible] Continual bombing. . . . Help, help, help. Radio Rakoczi, Hungary, repeat. . . ."

1410 "At the moment fighting is going on in the capital. Csepel and the railway bridge are entirely in the hands of the freedom fighters.

"Some of the Russian tanks dare to move only in formation. In many places barricades have been built along the road. Desperate fighting is going on."

1608 "Please forward our request to the Geneva Red Cross. Tell them to intervene immediately. Several hospitals are in flames. . . . Radio Budapest is in the hands of traitors. . . .

"Radio Free Europe, forward it, please forward it! . . . Forward our request. Forward our news. Help! Help!

" . . . Youth delegation [probably Radio Roka] . . . imploring our urgent help. Food and ammunition are becoming scarce. They can still hold their positions. . . . They request an immediate answer: when will UN delegates arrive?

"I don't believe the mendacious [unintelligible probably Kadar] . . . policy."

1615 Appeal to International Red Cross in Switzerland for immediate aid: "Many hospitals are burning. Our situation is desperate. We have little ammunition."

1630 "According to the latest news armored divisions are approaching Dunapentele from Szekesfehervar, Budapest and Dunafoldvar. . . .

"This is Radio Rakoczi speaking!

"We request urgent help for imperiled Dunapentele!

"We request urgent help for imperiled Dunapentele!

"Soviet troops are preparing an attack on Dunapentele from three directions.

"We request urgent help. . . ."

## Monday, November 5, 1956 – Night

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

2100 "THE TOWN council of Pecs, the Baranya County

Party Committee and the Revolutionary Workers' Council have issued an appeal to workers. It calls for support of the new revolutionary government and appeals to workers

to resume work. The government is yours and will fulfill your demands—give it every support."

### Radio Pecs

1950 "The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party calls on all Party organs . . . to begin Party work immediately. . . . In the recent fights, hundreds of Communists, Party and non-Party workers, were the victims of counterrevolutionary gangs. . . . The future of the people, of the Party, and of individuals, depends on how willing they are to follow [the Party?]."

### Radio [Free] Csokonay

2015 "All Hungarian radio stations are in Soviet hands

owing to the help rendered by the Soviet Army. . . . They became a mouthpiece of the Muscovite government. . . .

"We want free elections. We have had enough of Muscovite trickery.

"We want free elections under international control. . . . The government of Imre Nagy and Imre Nagy himself who supported freedom are now in prison. . . . We shall continue fighting. . . .

"Radio Free Europe, call on the Hungarian people! . . . Tell them that with demonstrations they should demand free elections and the resignations of the fake Kadar government.

"Attention, attention. This is Radio Csokonay.

"We shall broadcast again tomorrow. . . ."

## Tuesday, November 6, 1956

*The Kadar government appeals to friendly nations and the Soviet Military Command for food and medicine. Fighting continues in Pecs, Budapest, Dunapentele, Szombathely, Hegyeshalom, and other areas. Soviet-controlled stations broadcast an ultimatum to the patriots. Reports of continued fighting and local successes are broadcast by the free radio stations, as well as appeals to Soviet troops and requests for Western help.*

### — Morning

#### Radio Budapest, Home Service

0555 MESSAGE from Romanian trade unions to Hungarian workers:

" . . . Taking advantage of the great democratic freedoms ensured by the people's democratic regime in Hungary . . . the bourgeois landlord counterrevolutionary forces, powerfully and continuously supported by the imperialist circles abroad, unleashed Fascist-type terroristic attacks against the worker-peasant power. The Romanian people . . . were deeply grieved. . . . Those who have hatched these atrocities are not only the enemies of the Hungarian people but they are our enemies. . . . The working people . . . have received with enthusiasm . . . the news of the formation of the Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Government. . . . The unity of Socialist countries, at the head of which is the Soviet Union, is of greatest importance. . . ."

From an editorial in the Chinese Communist organ *Zsemnizsiao*: "'We welcome the news,' says the paper, 'that the reactionary Imre Nagy government has been replaced by the government of Comrade Janos Kadar. Our Hungarian brothers were thereby released from the shackles of the counterrevolution. . . . It is but natural that the Soviet Union could not idly look on while Hun-

gary was again being occupied by the Fascist forces. . . . We greet . . . the Soviet Union which has for the second time liberated the Hungarian people.'"

### Radio Pecs

0430 "The commander of the Soviet forces emphatically calls on armed groups still resisting in the Komlo region to stop fighting. Their resistance is completely useless; in order to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, they should lay down their arms at once. Should they fail to comply with this appeal by 0700 [GMT] this morning, the Soviet forces will use all means at their disposal to break this resistance and to annihilate those who resist.

"Signed: The Soviet Military Command."

[This is followed by appeal of Soviet military commander broadcast over the same station the previous day at 1720.]

0500 ". . . University students and workers have failed to realize in these highly eventful days that a large proportion of their demands have been incorporated in the program of the new Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government which will gradually implement them. Naturally . . . groups still resisting should . . . lay down their arms. . . . Further bloodshed is senseless. . . ."

## Radio Szombathely

0500 ". . . Daily rounds have been taken up again. Public works are operating, communication is functioning and also some railroad lines have started operating. Trade and commerce are functioning and no difficulties have arisen in public food supply."

0630 Orders of the Soviet Command of Szombathely and Vas County: All arms are to be surrendered by 0700 [GMT]; people are permitted in the streets from 0500 [GMT] to 1700 [GMT], but only in groups of two; house-wardens must report to the authorities all individuals living in their houses but not officially registered, as well as persons who leave their residence after 2100 [GMT].

0830 Announcement that the deadline for laying down arms has been extended to 1700 [GMT]. Notice that November 7 will be a paid holiday.

## Unidentified Soviet-Controlled Radio

0830 ". . . In addition to the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Councils, police squads are to be set up in the seats of district courts. The members of these squads shall carry weapons on the basis of permits issued by the Soviet Military Command. The Ministry of the Interior shall organize a police section for the purpose of beginning arrests preliminary to further investigation. All those who took a leading role in the organization of the Social Democratic, the Smallholders' and other political parties shall be put under preliminary arrest. All individuals who injured or killed security police members or aided in such acts shall also be taken into preliminary arrest in accordance with the instructions of the government. These preliminary arrests will be made by the police squads of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Councils assisted by the Soviet Military Police. . . ."

## Radio [Free] Rakoczi

0935 "An appeal to the UN and to the International Red Cross:

". . . The population of Dunapentele proposes that the entire area of Dunapentele be declared as a distribution place for the International Red Cross. . . . In Dunapentele every plant, factory and institution is intact and

partly in running order. . . . Accordingly we suggest that . . . in Dunapentele every armed interference, the use of arms and the passage of troops be prohibited. We ask those whom we have been calling to inform us by radio if our proposition has been accepted. We also ask for the time when the shipment will arrive.

"Attention! Attention! Attention! This is Hungary, Radio Rakoczi.

"An appeal to the International Red Cross in Geneva:

"In spite of the appeal made by the UN the attack on unarmed people, on women and children, is being continued by the Soviet Army. They are bombing Red Cross institutions, hospitals and first aid stations. They are preventing the distribution of medicine and bandages . . . and for the moment Dunapentele, the former Sztalinvaros, seems to be the only place in Hungary where there are no Russian troops and the city is in the hands of the Hungarian Revolutionary Army. We appeal to you for the preservation of this city for the activities of the International Red Cross." [Heavy jamming begins. Appeal repeated at 1155 and, in German, at 1215.]

1030 Morse broadcast, interrupted with the following appeal:

"Do not surrender. We will receive help. Soviet troops will be withdrawn. Hungary does not consist only of Communists. The country's population refuses to accept Communist rule, for the Communists were elected by nobody but appointed exclusively by the Soviets. We call on everyone to refuse to obey Communist orders."

1045 "Do not believe Communist and Soviet radio stations. Do not surrender. Hungary is not lost."

1050 "Keep fighting. Keep fighting. Do not believe Communist and Soviet broadcasts. This is the radio of the national freedom fighters. Do not surrender your arms."

1100 Broadcast in Russian:

"Russian soldiers, the Hungarian nation rose against its occupiers, against tyranny. There are no Fascists among us. The whole nation is fighting for freedom. You do not know that you are fighting against workers. . . . Do not shoot. . . . There are no Fascists among us. You are our friends, and will be our friends. This is not propaganda, this is truth. We will die for our freedom."

## Tuesday, November 6, 1956 – Afternoon

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1200 "DEAR LISTENERS. We will now read an important announcement:

". . . We are dealing the last blows to the counterrevolutionary forces. . . . Our chief concern at the moment is to revert to a normal peaceful life and to heal our wounds. In order to be able to do this as soon as possible we ask

for your brotherly help. We are especially in need of food, fuel, construction materials and medicine. It is our conviction that our appeal will be answered by the peoples of countries struggling for Socialism and by their governments. . . . [Signed] Janos Kadar, President of the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government."

1600 "Official announcement:

"November 7 is a working day. The anniversary of the

great October Revolution is celebrated this year in exceptional circumstances, brought on by the counterrevolutionary attempt. The restoration of order and calm and the resumption of productive work are now the main and decisive tasks. Therefore, the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government has decided that November 7, 1956, will be a working day."<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \*

Excerpts from *Pravda* [Moscow]: "After the restoration of order and peace the Hungarian government will start talks with the government of the Soviet Union and all other members of the Warsaw Pact concerning the evacuation of all Soviet forces from Hungarian territory. . . ."

\* \* \*

"It is reported from Szeged that order and calm prevail in the city. Productive work has started; workers' councils have been formed in the factories. Szeged workers . . . received with joy the news of the Russian government's economic aid. . . . They show great activity in organizing the local branch of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Work has started in Kecskemet also. . . . Railwaymen in Szolnok have started the first trains. . . ."

## Radio Pecs

1245 Calls upon resistance fighters in the Mecsek and Komlo areas to lay down their arms by 1700 [GMT] or be liquidated by Soviet troops.

## Radio Nyiregyhaza

1612 ". . . We have lived through dark days, full of worry. Assassins have pushed their way into our ranks and have wrought devastation among us. Our beautiful homes were destroyed by the counterrevolution. The class enemy contaminated the faint-hearted among us, and our fellow men were [murdered?] by counterrevolutionaries, who were chased away in 1945 but came back stealthily during the dark and heavy days. . . . In order that there will be no grave worries . . . the Soviet Union is sending us everything. We are backed by one half of the world. We were victorious and not the counterrevolution. This is clearer than daylight. . . . The tanks are facing toward the West now. No more counterrevolutionaries can enter the country. The people's enemy can obtain arms no longer. . . ."

1650 "The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Committee of Szabolcs-Szatmar County emphatically appeals to the population that all those who are in possession of firearms should deliver them to the police. Anyone who finds discarded firearms should deliver them up at once. Those who fail to comply . . . will be considered members of the counterrevolutionary organization. . . ."

## Unidentified Soviet-Controlled Radio

1430 Reports on the situation in Budapest. Small resistance groups are still fighting at Csepel, Kiralyerdo,

<sup>1</sup> Radio Szombathely announced at 0830 that it would be a holiday.

Kobanya, Budafok and Harosziget. Soviet troops have begun using heavy weapons.

1700 ". . . The Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Government instructs the county and community . . . councils to reject all applications and applicants requesting the dissolution of collective farms. Kolkhozes already liquidated shall be reorganized and their banished leaders shall return to their former posts. The properties of liquidated kolkhozes shall be returned. . . ."

Report that the Soviet Union has promised to send 70,000 tons of grain, 3,000 tons of lard, 10,000 tons of vegetable shortening, 3,000 tons of canned meat and 10,000 tons of cement.

## Radio Miskolc (Soviet-Controlled)

1525 Report that at Miskolc and Borsod-Miskolc the Peasants' and Workers' Revolutionary Councils are being relieved because they contain "Fascist and counterrevolutionary elements." Reminder to the population that the deadline for giving up weapons is 1500 [GMT].

## Radio [Free] Roka

1300 "Yesterday we recaptured the parliament building. We are holding the road to Szekesfehervar and the road to Kecskemet also. We are not allowing, nor should you, any more Soviet troops to enter the capital. We have wiped out the majority of the Soviet troops which had entered before. We urgently request food, medicine and armed help. This is Roka speaking."

## Radio [Free] Rakoczi

1350 [Jamming] . . . "The morale of the ground troops is good and they have recaptured Pusztaszaboles. We urgently ask Radio Free Europe to broadcast immediately whether they are receiving us. . . . [Passage unintelligible. The broadcast went on to ask the free world why it was not helping and why Hungary's appeals were going unheeded.] . . . We are not Fascists and we can prove to the world that we are not, except to those who are now bombing us with phosphorus bombs." Repeats appeal to RFE.

Statement that Britain and France ought to follow the events in Hungary because their suggestion of an international police force would also apply there.

1352 ". . . It is under such conditions that we appeal to the conscience of the world. A possible loss of the Suez Canal cannot be indifferent to Great Britain and France since they had immediately asked policing forces from the UN. For the world [unintelligible] a little country which had through a thousand years maintained its liberty with great sacrifice of blood, lose her liberty? . . . Why are only the interests of the great powers important, why are not our hospitals, schools and national treasures important, and why can these be sacrificed to bombs and to fire? Why cannot you hear the call for help of our murdered women and children?



Free Europe Press

A corner of the Kilian Barracks. Note the gun turret in the center foreground and the tank off which it was blown at the far right.

"Peoples of the world! Hear the call for help of a small nation! . . .

"We have seen atrocities committed under the command: 'Down with Fascism!' We are no Fascists. We will prove this to an independent international committee, but we cannot prove it to those who reply to us with phosphorus bombs. Help, for with the slogans of helping democracy they are taking away the last possibility for a democracy.

"This is Radio Rakoczi, Hungary. We have read an appeal.

"Radio Free Europe, Munich! Radio Free Europe, Munich! Answer! Have you received our transmission?"

1412 Radio Rakoczi addresses Radio Roka, stating that it has received the message of 1300 hours from Roka to the effect that the freedom fighters have recaptured the parliament building in Budapest and that they are keeping free the route from Szekesfehervar and Kecskemet.

"Radio Free Europe, answer if you could get our message at 1415 hours."

1505 "Urgent flash. Attention, attention!

"We desperately need guns, ammunition and food para-

chuted in around Dunapentele. Attention, attention! Munich! Munich! Take immediate action! In the Dunapentele area we urgently need medicine, bandages, arms, food and ammunition! Drop them for us by parachute!

"Attention, attention! Take immediate action! Attention, attention! Take immediate action! The Soviet troops called on us to lay down arms. We will not comply with this call. If necessary we will keep on fighting for the freedom of Hungary against the foreign occupiers to our last drop of blood.

"Attention, attention! Take urgent action! Take urgent action! Take urgent action! The time for consideration we were granted will soon expire, after which they will attack. We are prepared, we expect the attack. Arms, ammunition, medicine, bandages and food. Please drop them for us by parachute.

"Take immediate action! Take immediate action! . . ."

1534 "This is Radio Rakoczi, Hungary. Listen to this all of you. Attention! This is Radio Rakoczi, Hungary. We shall broadcast important news. This is Radio Rakoczi, Hungary. Now you will hear important news:

"Reported from the Dunapentele area at this very

moment: four Soviet armored cars approached Dunapentele from the direction of Dunafoldvar with the intention of attacking. The Dunapentele garrison opened artillery fire against them and in five minutes all four armored cars surrendered.

"Attention, attention! Radio Free Europe, answer. Did you hear our 1534 broadcast? Radio Free Europe, answer! Did you hear our 1534 broadcast? This is Radio Rakoczi, Hungary."

### Radio [Free] Rakoczi

1730 "Comrades, join the pseudo-Communist Party of

Janos Kadar immediately, possibly in leading positions, and do your best to make a truly Communist Party of it. However long and hard this task may be, turn it into a Hungarian Communist Party. . . . But despite all disgust and abhorrence, we true Hungarian Communists must stay in the Party of the infamous and treacherous Janos Kadar who, under the false banner of Communism, will continue to serve, as Rakosi's successor, Russian imperialism, and who accepted this assignment from those hands, dripping with blood, which carried out history's vilest massacre in Hungary. . . ."

## Tuesday, November 6, 1956 – Night

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1900 APPEAL from the Hungarian Trade Union Council of Szolnok County asking the workers to resume work:

" . . . The country's population is relying on existing stocks for its existence. However, these stocks will not last forever and are rapidly dwindling. If we take sober thought, then we can rightly ask: what are we waiting for? . . . Winter is coming, and for the time being we can provide decent food and heated homes for our families. But what is going to happen later? . . . Think of your future, your family, and with sober foresight start productive work. . . . Circulation should commence throughout the whole country, as this is the road to life, and is the condition for the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government's realization of its program for the progress of the people. . . .

"It is reported from Szkesfehervar that order and calm prevail in the city. In the factories work will start on Wednesday. . . . In Nyiregyhaza counterrevolutionary groups have been disarmed. . . . The population received with satisfaction the assistance of the Soviet Army, which knocked the weapons out of the hands of the reactionary and counterrevolutionary elements posing as revolutionaries. . . . In some factories work started today. . . . Szolnok railway station urgently requests its workers and employees living in Szolnok or in the vicinity to report for duty. . . . We draw attention to the fact that although the post office is already functioning people should not overburden it. We must bear in mind that railway communications are still restricted, and thus excessive demands could not be met. . . ."

2100 "The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Council held a meeting in Nyiregyhaza in which they dealt with the supply of food to food stores in the country. The Council

ordered that every bread and food store keep a bread reserve above the daily need. . . ."

### Radio Pecs

1830 Warns resistance forces in the Mecsek and Komlo areas that the deadline for laying down arms is 0700 [GMT] tomorrow. If they refuse to obey, Soviet troops will liquidate them. Calls upon all factory workers to report at their places of work. Proceedings will be initiated against those who do not.

2300 Repets the warning to resistance forces in the Mecsek and Komlo area. All uranium and ore miners are to resume work.

### Radio Miskolc

1930 Reports that "Fascist bandits" are still fighting in Borsod-Abauj and Zemplen, destroying railroad equipment and railroad stations. They have also entered various areas of Miskolc city. The station calls upon the organized workers to report resistance fighters immediately to the nearest police station or to the Soviet command. Also announces that the Hungarian Workers' Party has been abolished and replaced by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Calls on the Revolutionary Councils of Borsod County to remind local peasants not to listen to enemy news broadcasts and to send their surplus produce to the national purchasing organs.

### Radio [Free] Rakoczi

1947 Signals in Morse. Message unintelligible because of very strong jamming. Then: "We shall not lay down our arms! . . ."

# Wednesday, November 7, 1956

*Fighting continues. Government stations claim restoration of order. Soviets fight in Szeged, Szolnok, Hodmezovasarhely, Pecs and Dunapentele. Individual free amateur and military short-wave stations continue to broadcast at intervals from unknown locations.*

## — Morning

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

0600 NEPSZABDSAG EDITORIAL, "The October Anniversary":

"In these difficult hours let us remember the great Socialist revolution of October 1917. Now, in the light of the open excesses of the counterrevolutionaries and the murder of hundreds of honest patriots, the tremendous significance of October 1917 becomes even clearer to us. The Soviet peoples have set the world an example in the development . . . of Socialist democracy. . . .

"For the sake of truth, we must admit that the mistakes committed during the Stalinist [era] had a detrimental effect on the relations among Socialist States. . . . There were some among us, however, who magnified these mistakes a hundredfold and wanted to take advantage of them to spoil relations between the Soviet and Hungarian peoples and to engender hatred for and mistrust of the Soviet people. . . .

"The enemies of the people thought they were almost in the saddle. But the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government was formed and has marshalled all its forces to crush the counterrevolution. . . .

"The capitalist powers, in order to divert attention from imperialist aggression in the Middle East, are trying to make the help extended to us by the Soviet Union look like interference in our internal affairs and a violation of peaceful coexistence. There is no question of that. Soviet troops came to help at the call of the Hungarian government. . . . Hungarian workers greatly appreciate this help and will not let chauvinist hatred and mistrust drive a wedge between Hungarian and Soviet workers. . . .

"Hungarian workers are aware that the interests of our nation and of peace call for the unshakeable unity of the Socialist countries. On the October anniversary . . . they have rejected every deceptive machination and have testified . . . to the unbreakable friendship between the Hungarian and Soviet peoples."

### Radio Pecs

0445 Appeal by the management, the Party Committee and the Trade Union Committee of the uranium mining enterprise calling on all workers to return to their jobs immediately.

0500 Appeal to resistance forces in Mecsek and Komlo to surrender.

0515 Appeal to oil workers living within 15 kilometers of the Zala oil refinery to report to work to collect their wages.

0515 *Dunantuli Naplo* [Pecs newspaper, Kadar controlled] report that peace and order prevail in Szeged, Cegled, Kecskemet and Szolnok, although fighting continues in the outskirts of these cities.

0530 Government instructions that Worker and Peasant Revolutionary Councils are to start work immediately; that the councils can authorize various plants to reduce the work day to 5-6 hours—in the case of miners to 4 hours—although the workers will continue to receive wages calculated on the basis of an 8 hour day; and that the police are to arrest all those who refuse to work or who incite others not to work.

0530 Announcement that the resistance in Budapest is being liquidated; that resistance groups are being pushed back from the area of the Csepel factories; that additional fighters have penetrated Ujpest; and that the Budapest curfew is still in effect from 1500 to 0600 [GMT].

### Radio [Free] Rakoczi

0935 ". . . The commander of Dunafoldvar . . . [passage unintelligible] . . . talk. . . . For a moment the noise of battle ceased during the negotiations . . . but the town was ordered to surrender. An artillery attack followed the Military Command's announcement that it would defend the town to the last man. . . .

"In the name of all honest Hungarians we appeal to all honest men in the world.

"Must we appeal once again?

"Do you love liberty? . . . So do we.

"Do you have wives and children? . . . So have we.

"We have wounded . . . who have given their blood for the sacred cause of liberty, but we have no bandages . . . no medicine. . . . And what shall we give to our children who are asking for bread? . . . The last piece of bread has been eaten.

"In the name of all that is dear to you . . . we ask you to help. . . . Those who have died for liberty . . . accuse you who are able to help and who have not helped.

"The UN is able to stop further bloodshed. . . . Or shall we lose faith in the [world's] conscience and decency . . . when we are fighting for world freedom?

"This is our message today, when, according to our in-



Free Europe Press

The personal tank of Colonel Maletér (later General), leader of the valiant 2,000 who held out in the Kilián Barracks for five days until the Russians withdrew. The tank was backed into this position to block the only entrance. Maletér was later promoted to General, made Defense Minister, and arrested while negotiating with the Russians for withdrawal of Soviet troops.

formation, the UN will meet in an extraordinary session.

"This is our message to President Eisenhower. . . . If, during his Presidency he stands by the oppressed and those who are fighting for freedom, he shall be blessed after his re-election. . . .

"We have received no answer to our appeal . . . that Dunapentele be declared a Red Cross center in Hungary. . . .

"Radio Rakoczi, Hungary. . . .

"We have read an appeal to the UN and every honest man. . . .

"[Radio] Free Europe, Munich! Free Europe, Munich!

"Repeat whether you have received our message."

1012 "Attention! Attention!

"An appeal to the UN! An appeal to the UN!

"In Egypt the UN resolution was carried out. . . . We ask for similar measures in Hungary. We emphasize that similar measures must be taken immediately in the Hungarian affair.

"Free Europe, Munich . . . Attention!

"We ask you to repeat in Russian the following appeal to Soviet soldiers in Hungary:

"Soldiers!

"Your State was created at the cost of bloody fighting

so that you could have freedom. Today is the thirty-ninth anniversary of that revolution.

"Why do you want to crush our liberty? You can see that it is not factory proprietors, not landowners, and not the bourgeoisie who have taken up arms against you, but the Hungarian people, who are fighting desperately for the same rights you fought for in 1917.

"Soviet soldiers! In Stalingrad, you showed how you could defend your country against a foreign invader. Why are you surprised that [we are defending?] . . . our country? . . . [passage unintelligible]

"Soldiers! Do not take up arms against the Hungarian nation.

"Radio Free Europe, attention! Attention! I expect you to forward the above message in the Russian language. We ask you to acknowledge the above message!"

1055 "Radio Rakoczi requests a definite answer from Radio Free Europe regarding our appeal this morning."

1115 "Radio Rakoczi, calling Munich, Munich! . . .

"Please tell us on . . . which wave lengths Hungarian radio stations are broadcasting. We are isolated. We wish to contact them. . . .

"Attention, attention, Munich!

"Under all circumstances remain on this wave length. We shall definitely report on this wave length again al-

though there may be longer intervals between broadcasts. But we shall make every effort to report. Remain on this wave length. . . . Please tell us the wave lengths of the other radio stations . . . still in the hands of the freedom fighters."

### Radio [Free] Roka

1034 "This is Radio Roka! This is Radio Roka! We

are holding our own in the Eighth [Budapest] District. Soviet losses are great. The Soviets have received reinforcements from the direction of Rakospalota and Vecses. Two buildings of the Janos Korhaz<sup>1</sup> are in flames. We are holding our own in the Eighth District. . . . Please forward to Free Europe. . . . [passage unintelligible.]"

## Wednesday, November 7, 1956—Afternoon

### Radio Miskolc

1756 DESPERATE appeal to workers of the DIMVAG<sup>2</sup> factory to resume work and prevent enormous damages.

\* \* \*

Announcement that a Borsod County Police Command has been set up and, in cooperation with the Soviet Military Police, calls upon the people to report any information they have on the resistance fighters.

### Radio [Free] Rakoczi

1205 ". . . Fighting has flared up in Kecskemet [about 60 miles south of Budapest], Mohacs and other towns. . . . Now Dunapentele is being attacked from several directions. . . .

"We are asking for immediate armed help. . . .

"Please forward this appeal to President Eisenhower.

"Please forward it to Anna Kethly.

"We are fighting against overwhelming odds.

"Possibly our radio will soon be annihilated. We shall continue to fight a partisan war. We ask for urgent . . . help, we ask for armed help for Hungary.

"Attention! Attention! We ask you to forward the above call for help to President Eisenhower and Anna Kethly. We ask for immediate intervention, we ask for immediate intervention, we ask for immediate intervention.

"Continue to listen to our broadcasts. As soon as we have time to come from the firing line . . . we will continue. . . ."

\* \* \*

". . . On November 6, 1956, delegates of the Soviet Command in Kecskemet handed the following notice to the town's National Committee and Military Command:

"I call on the garrison forces of Dunapentele to lay down arms. All officers, NCOs and soldiers who lay down their arms will preserve their lives, their liberty and their political rights. If the garrison does not lay down its arms, the Soviet Command will take the city by force. After the

fighting is over, all those who carried arms—soldiers and civilians—will be treated as POWs."

"The Military Command of Dunapentele and the National Committee answered:

"Dunapentele is the foremost Socialist town in Hungary. The majority of residents are workers and power is in their hands. After the victorious revolution of October 23, the workers elected the National Committee. . . . The Military Command of the town is in close collaboration with the National Committee<sup>3</sup>. . . .

"The population of the town is armed. . . . The houses were all built by the workers themselves. . . . The workers will defend the town from Fascist excesses . . . but also from Soviet troops. . . .

"We are prepared to live in peace with the Soviets so long as they don't interfere in our internal affairs. . . .

"The majority of factories and plants are working. There are no counterrevolutionaries in the town. . . .

"We suggest further negotiations in a neutral zone. . . ."

\* \* \*

"An appeal to UN members:

"The battle in Dunapentele has continued since morning with unflagging violence. . . . Intervention urgent. According to the last reports, partisan fighting against Soviet troops has started again in Kecskemet and Kalocsa. . . . We beg you to send urgent help. . . . Dunapentele is being attacked by tanks from several directions. The people of the town are armed and will defend the town . . . to their last drop of blood. If Soviet troops do not enter the ten kilometer zone around the town they will not be attacked. If they come nearer, they will be fired on. . . .

"We are asking for immediate armed aid for Hungary, we are asking for armed aid for Hungary. . . ."

1240 ". . . We beg you to send urgent help to Kecskemet, Kalocsa and Dunapentele."

1353 "Soviet tanks and planes are attacking Dunapentele.

"Soviet tanks and planes are attacking Dunapentele.

"The battle continues with unflagging violence."

<sup>1</sup> Hospital in Budapest.

<sup>2</sup> Machine tool factory in Diosgyor (northeast near Miskolc).

# Wednesday, November 7, 1956 – Night

## Radio Budapest, Home Service

1900 "WE ARE now going to read Minister of Industry Antal Apro's appeal to miners:

"Provide industry with its bread -coal . . . so that life can return to normal, so that boilers give heat and the sick and wounded can recover in warm hospitals.

"For two weeks . . . the railroads have been paralyzed by regrettable events. Trains have started to run in several places, but our coal reserves are rapidly decreasing. If you do not go down to the pits, the workers will not be able to go to their factories, no bread will be baked, and there will be no electric power—briefly, life will come to a standstill and immeasurable harm will be done.

"It is particularly important that maintenance work continue. . . . Every miner knows that neglect of maintenance work can paralyze production for a long time to come. . . . The reborn Party, [and] the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government know the miners' worries. . . . As soon as the present situation is resolved, the government will adopt the necessary measures. Every miner should be aware of his responsibility in these grave days."

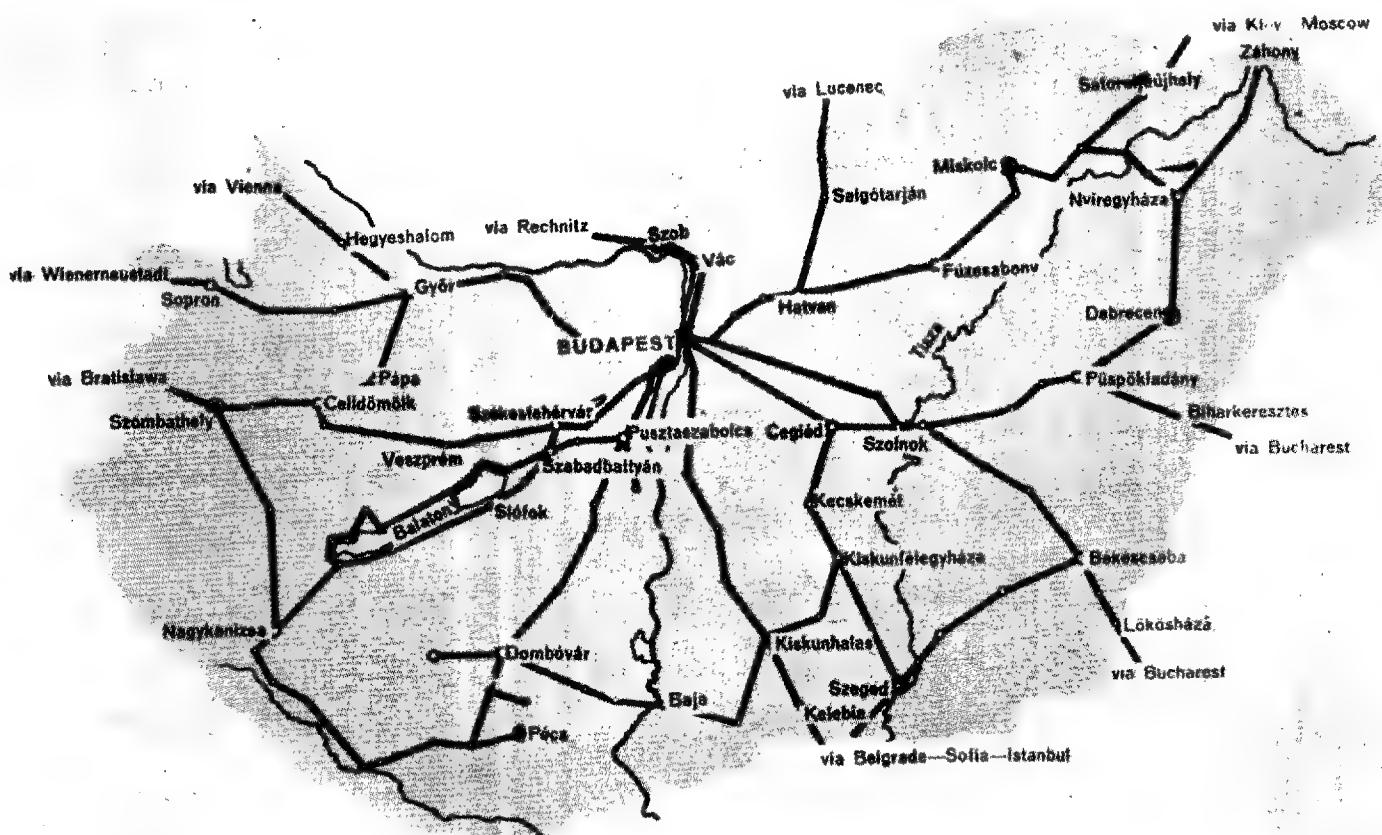
Denial of Western broadcasts that fighting still continues in Szolnok and complaint that the above is an example of the lies broadcast by illegal stations.

## Unidentified Free Radio, Location Unknown

2004 "Fighting is continuing in the Eighth District [of Budapest] and in the Districts of Pesterzsebet, Kobanya, Ujpest and Kelenfoeld. So long as the civilian population has access to reserves in the shops, the freedom fighters will have enough food. Unfortunately supplies will last only a week. The far greater difficulty is that the freedom fighters are becoming tired, although their enthusiasm is as great as before.

"We ask the West -President Eisenhower, to whom we present our congratulations [on his re-election], Mr. Eden, and the UN Secretariat, as well as the leaders of all free nations, to help the cause of freedom in our country—not only by words, but also by deeds, by active interference before it is too late.

"... We beg you to submit . . . this telegram to the UN General Assembly."



### Hungary's main railway lines

Hungary (Budapest), February-March 1956

# Thursday, November 8, 1956

*Continued resistance urged by free radios. Fighting continues in Pecs, Dunapentele, Budapest and its suburbs, and in the Bakony region. Budafok and Nagyteteny bombed by Soviet aircraft.*

*Istvan Dobi, Chairman of the Presidential Council, appeals for order to the Hungarian peasantry, promising a "Socialist democracy" and guarantees of legality. State Minister Gyorgy Marosan addresses a similar appeal to workers and peasants. The government orders surrender of all weapons to Soviet troops by the evening of November 9. Those surrendering their arms before the deadline are promised immunity.*

*Budapest Radio announces that order has been restored in Gyor, Szeged, Komarom and Szekesfehervar, but admits fighting still going on in Budapest.*

*The government issues repeated appeals for order; ministers plead with the people to return to work, citing food and fuel shortages which endanger the health of the population.*

## — Morning

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

**0500** REPETITION of previous day's broadcast appealing to the rebels to lay down their arms.

**0900** "Members of the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government took the oath of office on November 7 in the presence of Istvan Dobi, Chairman of the Presidential Council. The Government then . . . passed the following resolutions:

"1. . . all officials of ministries and higher organs of administration . . . should report without delay in order to resume work. . . .

"3. . . All civil servants, including employees of local organs . . . must report for duty by November 10, 1956. Those willfully failing to do so must be regarded as having voluntarily resigned from their posts and it is forbidden . . . to furnish them further pay or allowances. . . .

"4. . . Revolutionary Committees should remove from their ranks without delay counterrevolutionary elements opposed to the . . . People's Republic. . . .

"5. . . All railway workers should regard it as their patriotic duty to liquidate the present disorderly situation. . . .

"8. . . The government orders managers of food shops to make provisions within 24 hours for reopening their shops. . . ."  
\* \* \*

Address by Istvan Dobi, Chairman of the Presidential Council,<sup>2</sup> to the peasantry:

<sup>1</sup> Other resolutions were: that executive committees of local councils should be responsible for implementing the regime's orders; that Dr. Gyorgy Csanady was to be Commissioner for Posts and Transportation; that a Commission for Public Supplies be appointed; and that schools must open wherever possible.

<sup>2</sup> Istvan Dobi, a peasant and former member of the Smallholders' Party, was Chairman of the Presidential Council under Rakosi.

"Brethren, Hungarian peasants. . . . We must open a new page in our history, and it is saddening that we had to liquidate the mistakes, errors and crimes of the past amid the roar of guns . . . and that we have to start a new life in this poor country from ruins. . . . There will be Socialist democracy, legality and a worker-peasant rule. . . . The humane, honest, clever Hungarian peasant way of life will be enforced. . . . It is a goal for which I have worked very hard in the past years, often in vain—a goal for which you have suffered so much. . . . When—let's hope soon—the weapons fall silent . . . above the ruins there shall blossom forth a flourishing life toward which we all aspire."

**1000** ". . . Members of the Army who, on account of the exceptional situation, have become separated from their units or institutions, should . . . stay where they are. . . ."

\* \* \*

"The commander of Soviet military units . . . has ordered: 1. Arms must be surrendered at once, but at the latest by 1600 [GMT] on November 9. . . . People surrendering arms will not be called to account. . . . 2. Traffic restrictions in Budapest are lifted as of November 7 between 0600 and 1800 hours [GMT]. The command also calls on factory, communications and public supply service workers to resume work. All who hinder the resumption of work will be called to account. . . ."

\* \* \*

". . . The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government calls on workers of meat, bakery and dairy industry establishments in Budapest to resume production . . . for the sake of providing food. . . . We appeal to transport enterprises to . . . deliver flour from mills to bakeries. . . . The Budapest City Council appeals to all drivers . . . to work on the delivery of food. . . . The government also appeals to provincial food industry enterprises to organize truck deliveries of bread, meat, milk, flour, sugar and live animals

to Budapest. . . . All trucks carrying food . . . should be clearly labeled with the notice: 'Food.' Soviet military units have been given orders to facilitate food deliveries everywhere. . . ."

1105 Address by Gyorgy Marosan, Minister of State, to workers and peasants:

"Workers, working peasants, my comrades!

"We must see clearly in the present grave situation. . . . The Hungarian Worker-Peasant Government was formed in order to protect the Hungarian working population. The creation of this government was made necessary because the ravages of the counterrevolutionary elements had to be stopped. . . . In the course of the past years the adventurist policy of the Rakosi-Gero clique has caused deserved dissatisfaction among the Party membership, the workers and the broad strata of the people. I, too, have suffered. . . . I suffered innocently in prison for years. . . . There can, however, be no personal offense great enough to shake my firm loyalty to the cause of Socialism. That is why I firmly oppose all those who are making use of the dissatisfaction. . . . Everyone must see clearly that a counterrevolutionary attack was launched against the entire people. . . . The counterrevolutionary gangs have not been concerned with the problem of what will become of us in the winter. . . . Repudiate the infamous anti-Soviet slander which is being spread by counterrevolutionaries. . . . We must be grateful to our Soviet brothers. . . . There are almost two million organized workers in the country. . . . They can see to what extent our factories have been demolished during the last two weeks, the same factories and industrial plants which were built by our workers. . . . Every honest worker must report at his old place of work. . . . The cold weather is here, we must be prepared for the coming winter. . . . Recently there has been much talk about the whole world watching us. We workers and working peasants must know that the whole world's Communist, Socialist and Workers' parties are watching us also. . . . Up and work! This is what our country's preservation and our future happiness demand."

\* \* \*

"On November 6, 1956, Peiping radio . . . gave an account of the telegram sent by Comrade Chou-En-Lai, Premier of the Central Chinese People's Government, to Comrade Janos Kadar. . . . Comrade Chou-En-Lai greets the . . . Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government and expresses his best hopes and good wishes. The Chinese people also express their wish to help the Hungarian people and the . . . government made available 30 million rubles for this purpose. The aid will be sent in the form of goods within the shortest possible time. . . ."

### Radio Györ (Soviet-Controlled)

0435 Appeal by the Red Cross and the University of Pécs:

"Unarmed representatives of the Red Cross and University . . . will proceed this morning to [location unclear] in Melyvolgy. We appeal to the fighters of Mecsek to send



*Wide World*

**Janos Kadar**

a doctor or other medical representative . . . to discuss the transportation of their wounded to a hospital."

\* \* \*

" . . . [Unintelligible passage] If during the two hours allotted they do not leave their hiding places and return home, the Soviet command will annihilate them with heavy artillery and air power. The Soviet Command and . . . forces of public order will . . . first proceed to the scene and appeal to the fighting group to lay down their arms. Everybody will be allowed to go home." [Remainder unintelligible.]

### Radio Szombathely

0700 "Kossuth [Budapest] radio announced . . . on Tuesday that the provisional Central Committee has started on the reorganization of the [Communist] Party. . . . This appeal . . . is a magnificent sign of life. . . . [The appeal] says that the Party will isolate itself from the mistakes of the Rakosi clique . . . not to deny the achievements of 12 years . . . but to avoid the extremes of both right and left. . . . The main task now is the resumption of productive work. . . ."

## Unidentified Soviet-Controlled Radio

0644 General description of the fighting: resistance groups still fighting all over the country; Soviets starting to liquidate rebels in Szigetvar and Nagykanizsa areas; small resistance groups fighting in Zalaegerszeg; Soviets beginning to employ heavy artillery and airplanes in the Pecs area; fighting in Komlo, Bakony area and Matra and Bukk forests; heavy fighting in Budapest, in the Eighth District and Kulsokobanya, Nagyteteny and Budafok; Soviets starting to bomb Nagyteteny and Budafok [in Budapest]; rebels firing on the Soviets and the police and army in various small towns; Soviet reprisals causing serious damage to buildings in Cegled, Kiskunhalas, Pecs, Nagykanizsa, Ujszeged, Szolnok and Miskolc. Appeal to the population not to aid the rebels, since Soviet reprisals will destroy houses and lives.

## Radio [Free] Roka

0205 Report that the rebels will not give up, or lay down their arms, and will fight as long as their ammunition lasts. Plea to the Western world for prompt help so that the blood shed so far will not prove in vain. Statement that Soviets are using inhuman tactics, including incendiary bombs.

## Radio [Free] Rakoczi

0316 Broadcast interspersed with Morse signals. Almost unintelligible except for sentence, "Do not give up your arms!"

## Radio [Free] Rajk

0800 ". . . Pay no attention to the promises . . . of the traitor, Janos Kadar. Do not believe . . . that Kadar's clique will insure sovereignty for Hungary at the very moment when a foreign army is engaged in mass slaughter in our unfortunate Fatherland, when the lofty tenets of Communism and sovereignty are [trampled underfoot?] in the most bloody, most barbarous fashion. Who appointed Janos Kadar and his clique as the so-called government—the sovereign Hungarian nation, or the foreign occupier whose troops by the thousands ride over the bodies of the dead in our country? And even if the new Rakosi were truly inclined to carry out his obviously false promises, what guarantee is there that the Soviet leadership would give him an opportunity to do so? Not the government of Janos Kadar, but the leadership of the Soviet is the absolute master in our homeland, which has again been degraded to the status of a colony. . . . Comrades, let us preserve the fighting spirit of Marxism-Leninism, let us continue to fight within the framework of our betrayed and outraged Party for the independence of the Socialist Hungarian nation."

# Thursday, November 8, 1956 – Afternoon

## Radio Budapest, Home Service

1300 "A REPORT from Szeged says that conditions are normal in the city. Work is proceeding in the factories. Streetcars are in normal service. Trains are in service in the area of . . . Miskolc. Normal conditions have resumed in Gyor. . . . In Szekesfchervar the shops are open. . . ."

1315 "The Council of Ministers, at its meeting on November 7, 1956, decided that clothing and footwear deposited with pawnshops . . . having a total value of less than 500 *forint* must be given back to the owners . . . without any reimbursement. . . . What is the issue? Many workers, chiefly in low-pay categories, were compelled during the summer to pawn their winter coats and other winter clothing, even shoes, because of the failures of the former government. . . ."

1404 "Appeal of the Minister of Finance: I order all enterprises . . . to furnish advance payment on account of wage arrears . . . to workers who, on the basis of the . . . government decree, resume work by November 10. Advance payment must not exceed 50 percent of normal earnings. Those who have . . . carried out their normal work . . . must be paid their ordinary wages. . . ."

\* \* \*

"Announcement of the Commander of the National Police Force: I order policemen . . . to report for duty without delay. . . ."

\* \* \*

"Peace has not yet been restored to the capital. . . . We will not deny that among those bearing arms there are some who are misled, but the majority want to make trouble or are tools of the counterrevolutionaries. Yesterday afternoon, for example, a large group of looters attacked warehouses at the Western Railroad Station, broke into stores and trucks, looted textile and furniture stores. . . . House committees, house guards, be vigilant and see that armed groups or individuals do not sneak into your houses to shoot from there and thus endanger your life and the lives of your children. . . . For the sake of the food supply . . . workers in the food stores should start selling from available supplies at 0800 [GMT] on the ninth of November. . . ."

1454 ". . . Comrade Kadar . . . visited leaders of the city and County of Szolnok on November 4. . . . Contrary to former practice, the meeting took place in an extremely cordial and friendly atmosphere. He inquired about events



Wide World

Hungarian rebels guarding the highway near the Hegyeshalom border station on November 8.

in Szolnok and the County. Then he analyzed the circumstances in which the nationwide uprising took place and its results.

"First of all," Comrade Kadar said, "we must not forget that the peaceful demonstration of October 23rd made proper and justified demands of the Party and government. The replacement of Gero and the removal of the Rakosi-Gero clique from leadership met with approval among Party members and Party supporters. The economic demands, too, were justified. These . . . fit into the program of the new Worker-Peasant Government. The trouble began when the counterrevolutionary forces used the peaceful demonstration and the uprising of the workers and youth for their own ends. . . . Hostile elements living in the West had been informed . . . and arrived en masse in Hungary, accompanying the various consignments of aid, as Red Cross personnel, to help the counterrevolutionary forces. . . . Imre Nagy's government tried to eliminate

the counterrevolution through political maneuvers and in a peaceful manner, but it achieved diametrically opposite results. The policy of procrastination only helped the counterrevolutionaries. They shouted slogans of independence . . . and democracy while they killed innocent people by the hundreds. We, the Communists in Imre Nagy's government, could not let this happen without comment, and left his government on November First. . . . It was in these circumstances that the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government requested the commander of the Soviet troops to help in liquidating the counterrevolutionary forces. . . . The government agrees with the demand that Soviet troops leave Hungary as soon as peace and order are restored, and it will begin negotiations for this purpose."

1530 Speech by Sandor Ronai,<sup>3</sup> Minister of Commerce:

<sup>3</sup> Former Social Democrat and National Assembly Chairman.

"... Who can deny that . . . we have achieved great results? Could we have achieved even better results? Yes, but the unscrupulous, evil policy of Rakosi and his clique,

which belittled the people and made a mockery of the lofty ideas of Marxism-Leninism . . . led to the point where the cup of bitterness overflowed. . . ."

## Thursday, November 8, 1956 – Night

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

**1805** APPEAL by the National Federation of Trade Unions:

"... For the emergence of this state of affairs grave responsibility rests on Rakosi and his clique. . . . The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government deeply condemns the anti-democratic policy pursued for years by Rakosi and his clique, and will oppose every attempt at restoring this system. . . . We request industrial trade union branches, factory committees and all organized workers to prepare for the resumption of work everywhere. . . ."

**1820** "What happened in the parliament building at the end of last week?

"... Instead of men wearing working clothes, men clad in old officers' uniforms taken out of mothballs and men clad in fur-lined coats appeared on the steps of the parliament building. The lobby . . . was filled with heel-clicking former landowners, Horthyite army officers and shareholders. First of all, the landlords of apartment houses came. . . . Then came politicians who styled themselves 'Smallholders,' and . . . started to argue whether 100 or 200 holds of land should be given back to . . . landowners whose lands had been confiscated . . . because they collaborated with the Fascists. Then former factory owners and shareholders who called themselves Social Democrats put in an appearance and conferred on whether works employing 100 or 150 workers should be denationalized. . . . Zoltan Tildy himself said that he would have to resign because he could no longer tolerate the support his own party gave the counterrevolutionary forces. . . . This is a sad but true picture . . . . In addition to the white terror which unfolded in Budapest and the provinces, the picture will also throw light on the necessity for creating the Hungarian Worker-Peasant Government. . . ."

**1825** "Complete order and peace prevail in Mezotur [Szolnok County]. . . . In the town of Cegled [Pest County] work has been resumed. . . . In Kecskemet [Bacs-Kiskun County] order has been restored. . . . In Vas County there is complete peace and order. . . . [Railroad] traffic is normal between Szombathely on the one hand and Nagykanizsa, Kaposvar, Zalaegerszeg, Gyor and Veszprem on the other. . . . Békés County reports that calm and order prevail. . . . Between Szeged and Békescsaba two trains run daily in each direction. . . . Workers of Budapest, follow the initiative of Vas County and the other counties; workers in the countryside, follow the example of workers in the bakery and food industries. Start work. Children need food, warm homes, window glass, clothing and so forth. We cannot expect everything from abroad. . . ."

**2015** Appeal by Gyorgy Marosan, Minister of State:

"Hunger and insecurity are endangering the population. . . . We must create peace and order in the heart of our country, in the capital, in Budapest. The government calls on the population of Budapest. . . . The hiding of arms and armed persons involves severe consequences. All honest patriots who still possess arms . . . must . . . turn in their arms immediately. . . . It may be that the population will have to face famine and danger of death. . . . Thousands of freight cars loaded with goods and construction materials are standing at our frontiers waiting for the Hungarian railwaymen. . . . For all this, peace and order must be brought about in . . . Budapest. . . . The government will take all necessary measures to assure legal order."

**2040** Talk entitled: "Those Who Want Socialism Must Not Associate with Counterrevolutionaries." Statement that posters signed by resistance groups appeared in Budapest the previous day, claiming that the groups support Socialism and do not want to overthrow the People's Democracy but that the Kadar government has branded the majority of the people as counterrevolutionaries and Fascists. Denial of these claims.

"The first sentence in the Kadar government's appeal refers to the noble aims of the mass movement which started on October 23. It also refers to . . . the crimes committed by Rakosi and his associates. . . . It also speaks of protecting our national independence and sovereignty. . . . How could it, then, call the majority of the people counterrevolutionaries and Fascists?"

Statement that the posters were issued by elements which did not want to distinguish between revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries. "Those who issued the posters do not separate themselves from the forces of the counter-revolution. . . . We do not believe that our magnificent youth are bent on preventing the shaping of a firm democratic regime. We do not believe that they want to be yoked to some sort of Horthyite arbitrariness after the despotism of the Rakosi-Gero clique. It is therefore our conviction that every true patriot must line up behind the Kadar government. . . ."

\* \* \*

"... The friendly attitude of Soviet soldiers has also enhanced the population's confidence. In some houses . . . Soviet soldiers shared their rations with the tenants . . . and offered the children warm food. . . . It is true that there are long lines in front of bakeries, but . . . flour is being delivered again. . . . But not all of the news from Budapest is reassuring. The population has informed the

police that counterrevolutionary groups have broken into the Szabadsag stores and taken clothes. . . . Armed counter-revolutionaries attacked the liquor factory in Forgach Street. . . . At Pesthidegkut counterrevolutionaries loot the shops and try to encourage the population to take part . . .

by saying that the Russians will break into the shops and ransack them if they do not do it. Bandits have broken into the Orion radio factory and stolen 5,000 radio sets, which were later sold at the football ground in Zuglo [suburb of Budapest]. . . ."

## Friday, November 9, 1956

*Fighting continues, particularly heavily in Csepel and Kulsokobanya, as well as in the 3rd, 6th and 20th Districts of Budapest and in the suburbs. Fighting also reported in Dunapentele, Kalocsa, Gyor, Pecs and Komlo.*

### —Morning

#### Radio Budapest, Home Service

0500 "ALL food shops and shops selling manufactured goods, all restaurants, confectioners and espresso bars must open their premises on November 9 at 0700 [GMT]."

0600 "In the Budapest First District the Hungarian Socialist Workers' [Communist] Party organization has been formed. Leadership was prevented from falling into the hands of people compromised in the past years. The organization is functioning on the premises of the former Hungarian Workers' [Communist] Party. . . .

"In Ujpest, one of the armed group centers is in the . . . industrial school. If the population cannot intervene in time these buildings might also be damaged. We seek the help of sober-minded citizens to prevent that, as well as the looting of shops. . . .

"Kobanya [working-class section of Budapest] is still isolated from the rest of the city on account of counter-revolutionary activities endangering communications. Some gangs settled in bomb shelters and in the Tenth District water tower, seriously endangering district water supplies. In the Eleventh District . . . forces of public order have been reorganized. . . .

"Szeged has furnished a typical example of counter-revolutionary activity. Gyula Kovacs, an officer graduated from the Horthyite Ludovika Military Academy and a former major in Horthy's army who spent four years in prison on a charge of anti-democratic behavior, was made chairman of the so-called Revolutionary Council in Szeged. . . . A long list was compiled with a view to the execution of Communists and non-Party members, honest persons, faithful to the people. The executions did not take place only because the Soviet Army disarmed Gyula Kovacs and his counterrevolutionary associates. . . ."

0830 "The Budapest police headquarters concentrates all its activities on the restoration of law and order and on the creation of public order and public security. To this end they have organized so-called 'R' special groups, whose task is to liquidate all criminal and looting elements and to protect the population from being disturbed.

"The 'R' groups will appear on the streets of Budapest within the next few days. District police headquarters have

been given instructions to organize armed worker-guards for the restoration of law and order. . . ."



Wide World

Anna Kethly

0835 "Last night everything was quiet in the Hungarian steelware factory. The 25 worker-guards made sure the factory remained intact. There were some armed attacks on the factory but they were repulsed. The factory is ready for the workers to resume work. . . ."

1154 "Attention! Attention! The Chief of Police in-

structs the house-committees and janitors of Budapest houses to collect the arms, ammunition and explosives found in the houses and to hand them over to the district police offices or to policemen carrying identity cards. . . . The house-committees and the janitors will be held responsible if arms, ammunition and explosives are later found on the premises."

## Friday, November 9, 1956 – Afternoon

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1220 "RADIO STATIONS opposing the Hungarian People's Republic disseminated news that the Imre Nagy government has been arrested. We inform the country that this news is false. Imre Nagy left the parliament building of his own free will. Several members of the Imre Nagy government actively support the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government and occupy public office. The other members of the disintegrated Imre Nagy government also left parliament of their own free will. The report about the arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty is also baseless."

1413 "The Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government on November 4 temporarily suspended the reception of Red Cross consignments from Western countries to Hungary . . . motivated by the circumstance that the 30 aircraft which arrived on November 2 and those which followed on November 3, described as carrying medical supplies, were found to contain consignments of arms as well. . . . The government is otherwise grateful to the International Red Cross organization for the dispatch of badly-needed medical supplies. The . . . government accordingly gives its consent at once and with pleasure to the International Red Cross proposal . . . to have the consignment sent to Hungary through Yugoslavia."

1600 A decree by the Commissioner for Public Supplies forbidding the sale of all motor fuels [ "such as gasoline, diesel oil and motor oil" ] in Budapest. Fuels may be obtained only on license of the Commission for Public Supplies. All stocks of motor fuel over 100 liters [26 gallons] must be registered with the Commission.

1600 "Nearly 100 restaurants began operating in Budapest today, selling a standard warm meal." The Minister

of Agriculture appeals to rural organs to "prevent wasting of harvested crops. . . ."

### Unidentified Radio

1545 A report that in Budapest resistance forces have renewed emphatic attacks in the suburbs, opening fire on Soviet and Hungarian armed forces from roofs and burnt-out houses, then hiding in cellars; the Soviet Command has given orders that all cellar entrances and passageways be locked and barricaded. Further reports of large resistance groups in the Third, Sixth and Twentieth Districts, and in the Buda Hills.

Statement that the situation is particularly serious in Kulsokobanya and Csepel where the resistance groups are being reinforced from rural areas; these reinforcements are arriving in trucks and are bringing food sent on authorization of rural workers' and peasant councils; the Soviet Command has therefore ordered that all vehicles approaching Budapest be thoroughly inspected, with trucks prohibited from stopping inside Budapest unless absolutely unavoidable.

Further reports: the lines of resistance groups at Dunapentele have been penetrated, but extremely strong resistance continues; Soviet troops have gained no advance in the fighting at Kalocsa; in the Györ area, Soviet troops are driving resistance fighters toward the borders; Soviet tanks are attacking resistance forces in the area of Pecs and the Komlo Forest.

### Unidentified Free Radio, Location Unknown

1529 "The freedom fighters are already tired but enthusiasm is greater than ever before. We request active intervention before it is too late. Please help us save our country."

## Friday, November 9, 1956 – Night

### Radio Budapest, Home Service

1900 "A RESOLUTION of the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government . . . :

"The . . . government assigns from its members Dr. Ferenc Munnich, Deputy Premier, to the control of affairs

concerning the armed forces and public security; Imre Horvath to the control of foreign affairs; Istvan Kossa to the control of finances; Antal Apro to the control of industrial affairs; Imre Dogei to the control of agriculture and Sandor Ronai to the control of commercial affairs. . . . "Signed: Janos Kadar, Premier. . . ."

1900 Announcement that the government is assigning temporary liaison officials "to assist the executive committees of the county and county borough councils."

1900 "The Presidential Council of the People's Republic has decided that until the next session of parliament, at which the modification of certain sections of the constitution will take place, the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government elected by the Presidential Council of the People's Republic will be the supreme organ of the People's Republic. . . . The Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government will itself decide which of its members

will control the various branches of the State management.

"The Kossuth crest will be the crest of the Hungarian People's Republic.

"Signed: Istvan Dobi, Chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic; Istvan Kristof, Secretary of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic."

### Unidentified Free Radio, Location Unknown

2215 "Send news. In general and in detail. We look forward to news! Say something!"

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## *Postscript*

NOVEMBER 9 was the last day of consecutive broadcasting by free radio stations. Subsequently, such broadcasts were heard irregularly. The revolt, however, did not end with the partial silencing of free stations: the workers of Csepel Island, for instance, continued their armed resistance until November 14. Workers throughout the country observed a general strike and either refused to work or engaged in drastic slow-downs. Peasants refused to hand over their produce to the authorities and instead fed resistance forces. Intellectuals continued to voice their opposition wherever and whenever they could. In many localities suited for guerilla warfare, insurgents, reportedly reinforced by Russian deserters, continued to harass Soviet occupation forces.

The first Soviet armed intervention in Budapest on October 24 united the overwhelming majority of Hungarians, including most Communists, in defense of the national rebirth. The second Soviet intervention on November 4 crushed the emerging democracy born of this unity, but also reinforced the national desire for independence, free, democratic government, and neutrality. This opposition to the puppet Kadar government and its Soviet masters, far from weakening in the presence of Soviet tanks, grew all the more adamant when news spread that mass deportations of young patriots to the Soviet Union were taking place. Indirect confirmation of such reprisals was broadcast by the regime-controlled Radio Budapest on November 14:

"The resumption of work in Szolnok County has begun in the past few days. Some 40 to 50 percent of the workers are active in factories and enterprises. To some extent railway communications have also started.

"According to the latest reports, however, sealed railway cars have carried prisoners eastward from Budapest, and therefore the railwaymen allegedly went on strike again. This information was relayed by telephone to the various factories and more and more workers are quitting their jobs."

In the following days, despite repeated denials by the Kadar regime and the Soviets, there were many reports -- some emanating from escaped victims -- of boxcars filled with youngsters rolling through the Hungarian countryside during the night, either directly to the Soviet Union through the border station of Zahony, or northward through Czechoslovakia. Railwaymen and other workers therefore persisted in their strike and railroad lines were blown up. On at least one occasion a desperate attack was launched by the patriots against the Russian guards of a deportation train.

The Kadar government has had to depend upon foreign military rule for its survival. Many reports indicate that Kadar has tried repeatedly, though unsuccessfully, to

induce popular leaders to join him in buttressing his administration. Faced with this solid opposition, the new regime often has had to discard the fiction of its own viability and independence: on many occasions -as shown by the broadcasts- orders were issued in the name of the Soviet military forces; in other instances, Kadar was forced to bargain with opposition worker leaders in an endeavor to restore a semblance of order to the country.

Toward the end of November the Hungarian people still seemed adamant in their demand that Soviet troops withdraw from the country completely, and worker representatives who tried to compromise on this basic demand could not influence the rank and file to return to work. Another demand of the workers, that Imre Nagy (who had taken refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy) be returned to power, was frustrated by the Soviets. On Thursday, November 22, the Yugoslavs stated they had been given a written guarantee by the Kadar regime that, in case Nagy and his party of some fifty other refugees chose to leave the protection of the Yugoslav Embassy, they would be allowed to return to their homes unmolested. The following day the Kadar regime announced that Nagy had decided to leave for another "People's Democracy"—Romania—of his own free will. Reports from Hungary indicated that the workers did not believe this version of the events, felt incensed over the brutal abduction and continued to insist that Nagy return to the government.

The following are excerpts from a broadcast by Radio [Free] Rajk, located somewhere in Hungary, November 10:

"... Everybody knows that people who gave up their arms with peaceful intentions have been shot dead, hanged, or imprisoned. It would have been more decent if the occupying power had forbidden the soldiers of the Russian Army to shoot irresponsibly and to loot, a thing unknown in Hungary before the Russian soldiers started it.

"Comrades, now you can see, you can see from the official 'confession' of the Janos Kadar gang that it is impossible for any kind of 'proconsul,' even if called a government, to serve the interests of the Hungarian nation under Russian imperialism. There is only one course -- to shake off the Russian terror regime or die.

"We, Hungarian Communists, the faithful followers of [Rajk?] will do our utmost to shake off the Russian yoke. . . ."

Excerpts from a broadcast by Radio [Free] Rajk, November 11:

"... This base treason has unmasked Janos Kadar not only before the nation but also before the whole world. We hope that the free nations of the world will give Kadar the same reply we Hungarian Communists gave him -- namely, that we do not recognize him as the head of the government, and we cannot recognize his so-called government.

"Comrades, both Kossa and Kadar still have the impertinence to talk about Hungarian sovereignty. How and when did the sovereign Hungarian nation appoint Kadar head of the government? By what right has he the audacity to pose as the leader of the government in these bloodstained days of foreign occupation? . . .

"No organization of our Communist Party, [however] camouflaged by various pseudonyms, ever elected Kadar or his accomplices to take over the government of the nation. They could not have done so even if they had been authorized by the Hungarian people, or the Hungarian Communist Party, because it is not they but Russian terror that rules the country. . . .

"We request, and indeed expect, the free nations of the world to assert what moral influence they can through the press in the interest of the downtrodden Hungarian people. If UN observers were sent to Hungary it would be disagreeable, not [only?] to Janos Kadar, but to his Soviet masters."

## Appendix I:

### Government constituted on October 27:

President of the Council	Imre Nagy	[Communist]
Deputy Presidents	Antal Apro	[Communist]
	Jozsef Bognár	[former member, Smallholders' Party]
	Ferenc Erdei	[former member, National Peasant Party]
Minister of State Control	Not yet designated	
State Farms	Miklos Ribianszky	[former member, Smallholders' Party]
State	Zoltán Tildy	[former member, Smallholders' Party; former President of the Republic]
Mining and Power	Sándor Czottner	[Communist]
Ingathering	Antal Gyenes	[Communist]
Internal Trade	Sándor Tausz	[Communist]
Interior	Ferenc Munnich	[Communist]
Health	Antal Babits	[Univ. Prof., Communist]
Food	Rezső Nyers	[former Soc. Dem. Party, Communist]
Construction	Antal Apro	[Communist]
Agriculture	Béla Kovács	[former member, Smallholders' Party]
Defense	Károly Janza	[Communist]
Justice	Eric Molnár	[Communist]
Metallurgy and Machine Industry	János Csergő	[Communist]
Light Industry	Mrs. Jozsef Nagy	[Communist]
Communications and Post	Lajos Bebrits	[Communist]
Foreign Minister	Imre Horváth	[Communist]
Foreign Trade	Jozsef Bognár	[former member, Smallholders' Party]
People's Culture	György Lukács	[Univ. Prof., Communist]
Education	Albert Konya	[Communist]
Finance	István Kossa	[Communist]
Urban and Rural Development	Ferenc Nezval	[Communist]
Chemical Industry	Gergely Szabo	[Communist]
Central Planning Board	Árpád Kiss	[Communist]

### Government constituted on October 30:

Premier and Foreign Minister	Imre Nagy	[Communist]
Minister of State	Janos Kadar	[Communist]
	Geza Losonczy	[Communist]
	Bela Kovacs	[Smallholder]
	Zoltan Tildy	[Smallholder]
	Ferenc Erdei	[Peasant Party]

### Government constituted on November 3:

Premier and Foreign Minister	Imre Nagy	[Communist]
Minister of State	Zoltan Tildy	[Smallholder]
	Bela Kovacs	[Smallholder]
	Istvan B. Szabo	[Smallholder]
	Anna Kethly	[Social Democrat]
	Gyula Kelemen	[Social Democrat]
	Jozsef Fischer	[Social Democrat]
	Istvan Bibó	[Petrofi Peasant]

Minister of Defense	Ferenc Farkas Geza Losonczy Janos Kadar Pal Maleter	[Petofi Peasant] [Communist] [Communist] [Independent]
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**Government constituted on November 4:**

Premier	Janos Kadar	[Communist]
Deputy Premier		
Minister of Armed Forces & Public Security	Ferenc Munnich	[Communist]
Minister of State	Gyorgy Marosan	[Communist]
Minister of Finance	Istvan Kossa	[Communist]
Foreign Minister	Imre Horvath	[Communist]
Minister of Industry	Antal Apro	[Communist]
Minister of Agriculture	Imre Dogei	[Communist]
Minister of Commerce	Sandor Ronai	[Communist]

**Appendix II: Radio Stations During the Revolt**

The following official Hungarian radio stations became "Free Radios" during the course of the revolt:

Budapest (Radio Kossuth) became Radio Free Kossuth after October 30. Debrecen, Dunapentele, Eger, Gyor, Kaposvar, Miskolc, Nyircgyhaza, Pecs, and Szombathely also operated as "Free Radios."

There were four free stations whose location could not be definitely established: Csokonay, Rakoczi, Roka and Rajk.

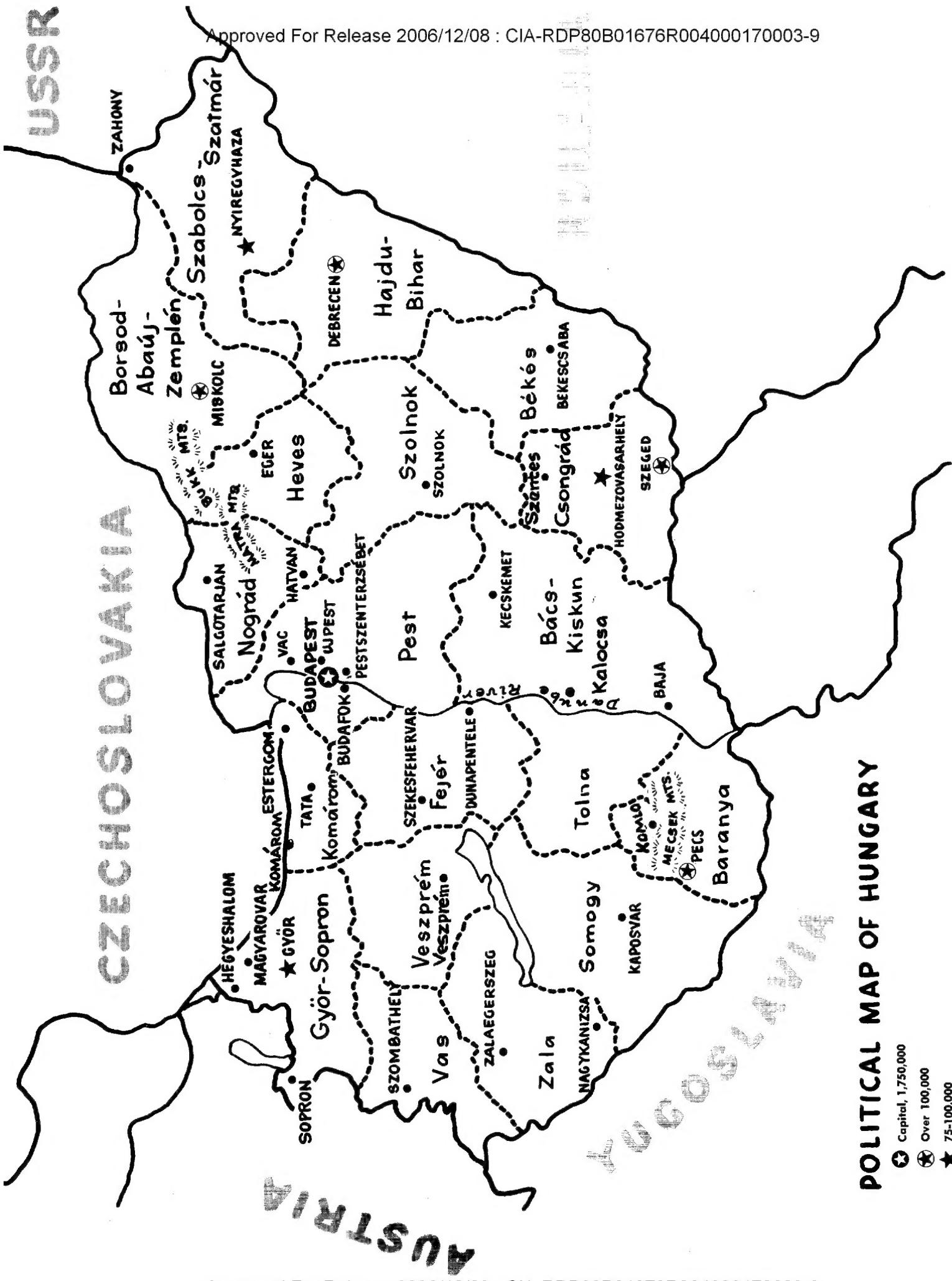
Finally, there were amateur and military shortwave sets which broadcast at one time or another during the fighting.

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CONSONANT

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# POLITICAL MAP OF HUNGARY



- Capital, 1,750,000
- Over 100,000
- 75-100,000
- 25-75,000

County Borders

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